ACTA REGIA:

OR,

An ACCOUNT of the

TREATIES, LETTERS and INSTRUMENTS

Between the Monarchs of *England* and Foreign Powers, publiſh'd in Mr. *Rymer*'s *FOEDERA*, which are the Baſis of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and contain thoſe Authorities which rectify the Miſtakes that moſt of our Writers have committed for want of ſuch a Collection of Records.

Tranſlated from the *French* of M. RAPIN, as publiſh'd by M. LE CLERC.

With the Heads of the Kings and Queens, curiouſly engrav'd by Mr. *Vandergucht*.

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MVSEVM
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KING EDWARD THE V.TH

ACTA REGIA.

NUMB. XIII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ELIZABETH *Woodville*, who was *Edward* the Fourth's Queen, had ſo much the aſcendant over the King her Husband, that he could not deny her whatever ſhe requeſted. The chief Uſe ſhe made of her Credit with him, was to promote her Father, Brothers, and her Children by her firſt Husband, to Offices and Honours: And theſe had in the like manner advanc'd their own Friends and Creatures. Under a Pretence that many Families of the antient Nobility were extinct, the King was perſuaded of the abſolute Neceſſity of filling up the number by new Promotions; which became at laſt ſo frequent, that the New Noblility began to be diſtinguiſh'd from the Antient as a ſeparate Body: And all Advantages deſcending upon the New Nobility by the Favour of the King and Queen, it gave very great Umbrage to the Old Nobility, who could not but be mortify'd to ſee ſo many new Lords eſtabliſh'd upon the Ruins of the antient Peerage. This gave riſe to two Factions in the Reign of *Edward* IV. which the Queen's Partiality to one of them render'd irreconcileable, *A.* 1483.

Antient Nobility diſguſted by frequent Creations.

Edw. V. because she took care to remove from Court, and from the great Posts, all those of the antient Nobility that were capable of giving her any Umbrage, and to bestow their Places on her own Creatures. Nevertheless there were three Noblemen at Court, that *Edward* IV. could not be prevail'd on to part with, because they had done him great Services, tho the Queen did not like them. These were the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Hastings*, and the Lord *Stanley*. The latter had marry'd *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, Mother to the Earl of *Richmond*, who was a Refugee in *Bretagne*.

Edw. V's Proclamation.

After the Death of *Edward* IV. the Prince of *Wales*, his eldest Son, who was thirteen Years of Age, was proclaim'd King by the Style of *Edward* V. The Queen's Intention was to govern every thing in the Name of the King her Son, during his Minority; and she had actually laid a Scheme for that purpose; but *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was the young King's Uncle by the Father's side, made a League with the three Noblemen above-mention'd, and thereby found means to get the King's Person into his own Hands, to arrest *Richard* Lord *Gray* his Governor, with two Knights, and to send them Prisoners to *Pontefract* Castle. At this News the Queen was frighten'd, and took Refuge in the Sanctuary of *Westminster*, with her five Daughters, and *Richard* Duke of *York* her youngest Son, then about nine Years of Age.

D. of Gloceſter gets the K. into his own Hands, and imprisons his Governor, &c.

Q. flys to the Sanctuary of Westmin. with her Children.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* had no sooner got the young King in his own Hands, but he form'd a Design to deprive him of the Crown, and to place himself upon the Throne. The Duke of *Buckingham* enter'd into the Conspiracy, and serv'd the Duke with all his Power,

D. of Gloceſt. aims at the Crown.

upon

upon his poſitive Promiſe that as ſoon as he came to the Throne, he would reſtore him half of the Succeſſion of *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, which was devolv'd to the Crown, and to which the Duke of *Buckingham* thought he had an indiſputable Right. *Haſtings* and *Stanley* were not let into the Project, becauſe, tho they were both of 'em Enemies to the Queen, yet they were thought too well affected to the Family of the late King their Benefactor. Therefore they were only made to believe that the Duke of *Gloceſter* had no other Intention than to procure to himſelf the Adminiſtration of the Government during the King's Minority: And for this Reaſon they adher'd cloſely to him, in order to hinder the Queen from having any Share in the Regency. Theſe three Lords ſerv'd the Duke of *Gloceſter* with ſo much Zeal, that in an Aſſembly of Perſons of the greateſt Diſtinction at *London*, they caus'd him to be elected and declar'd Protector of the King and Kingdom.

A. 1483.

His Promiſe to the D. of Buckingh.

D. of Gloceſt. *choſe Protector.*

NOT long after, the new Protector procur'd a Reſolution in Council, that the young Duke of *York* ſhould be demanded out of the Queen's Hands, to be brought up with the King his Brother; and that if ſhe refus'd to give him up voluntarily, he ſhould be taken away by Force. The Cardinal Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was deputed on this Errand, who being a Stranger to the ſecret Views of the Protector, diſplay'd all his Rhetoric to perſuade the Queen to deliver up the young Prince. He was the more earneſt in the matter for fear leſt the Council ſhould incline to violate the Sanctuary, which he dreaded as one of the greateſt of Misfortunes. In fine, he obtain'd his Requeſt, tho with very great Difficulty.

ABp of Cant. *ſent to get the D. of* York *out of the Q's Hands.*

Edw. V. THE Protector having now both the King and the Duke in his own Power, haſten'd to put his Project in Execution. To ſucceed in it with the more eaſe, he caus'd the Lord *Haſtings* to be ſifted, that he might ſecure him in his Intereſt, becauſe he had very great Credit in *London*. But *Haſtings* ſeeming too ſtrongly attach'd to the Royal Family, and the Protector being afraid he had made too open a Diſcovery to him, he therefore reſolv'd to ruin him. For this end he accus'd him, in a Council held at the Tower, of a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, and without producing any Proof of it, caus'd him to be beheaded on the Spot. The Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Stanley*, all three Members of the Council, were arreſted and committed to Priſon as Accomplices in his Conſpiracy. But the true Reaſon was, that the Protector very well knew that they did not approve of his Deſigns. The ſame Day the Priſoners who had been ſent to *Pontefract* were executed without any form of Law, by order of the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

Ld Haſtings *accuſed by the Protector of a Conſpiracy, and beheaded.*

His Friends arreſted as Accomplices.

Priſoners at Pontefract *executed.*

THIS firſt Step being taken, and there being a general Conſternation in the Minds of the People, a Report was ſpread in *London*, and it was publickly preach'd in St. *Paul*'s Church, that *Edward* IV. and his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* were not the Sons of the late Duke of *York*, his Ducheſs having taken ſome Perſons into her Bed whom they perfectly reſembled; but that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was the very Picture of the Duke his Father: Moreover, that *Edward* IV. had a former Wife living when he married *Elizabeth Woodville*; from whence it was inferr'd, that all the Children he had by this laſt Wife were Baſtards. Upon theſe Suppoſitions the Duke of *Gloceſter* excluded the

Reports ſpread about the Illegitimacy of Edward IV. *and the D. of* Clarence.

ſeven

ſeven Children of *Edward* IV. from the Succeſſion, as well as the young Earl of *Warwick*, and *Margaret* his Siſter, Children of the Duke of *Clarence*, to clear the way only for his own Succeſſion. The Duke of *Buckingham* back'd the matter in an Aſſembly of the Magiſtrates and chief Citizens of *London*, among whom ſome Perſons were hir'd to cry *God bleſs King* Richard *the Third*; which forc'd Acclamations being look'd upon as the general Conſent of the People, the Duke of *Buckingham* went next Day, at the Head of the Common Council, and offer'd the Crown to the Protector, who after ſome pretended Scruples was willing to undertake the Burden of it. Thus was it that the Duke of *Gloceſter* aſcended the Throne with the Style of *Richard* III.

A. 1483.

D. of Gloceſter *aſcends the Throne with the Title of* Rich. III.

IT may naturally be ſuppos'd that the publick Acts contain nothing very remarkable in the Reign of *Edward* V. which laſted but about two Months and a half, and wherein the D. of *Gloceſter* continually labour'd the Accompliſhment of his wicked Deſigns: And 'twas only for preſerving the Thread of the Hiſtory that I thought fit to inſert an Abridgment of this ſhort Reign: Theſe three Acts only can be of any Service.

1. *EDWARD* the Fifth's Letters Patent, whereby he impower'd the Duke of *Buckingham*, when he ſaw it neceſſary, to arm the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Salop*, *Hereford*, *Somerſet*, *Wilts*, and *Dorſet*; dated *May* the 16th 1483, at *Weſtminſter*.

Commiſſion to the D. of Buckingham *to arm ſeveral Counties.* 180.

IT was the Duke of *Gloceſter* who procur'd him this Commiſſion for his own Ends; but we find afterwards that the Duke of *Buckingham* made uſe of it againſt him.

Rich. III.

D. *of* Gloceſter *firſt ſtil'd Protector.* 184, 185.

By two other Acts we perceive that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was not declar'd Protector till between the 24th and 27th of *May*, becauſe in an Act dated on the 24th there is no mention of a Protector, whereas in an Act of the 27th, and two others that follow it, it is ſaid, *By the Advice of our moſt dear Uncle the Duke of* Gloceſter, *Protector of our Kingdom.*

Edw. V's *Coronation appointed, but never ſolemnized.* 185.

By another Act we find that the Coronation of *Edward* V. was fix'd on the 22d of *June*, which was the very Day that *Richard* III. was proclaim'd.

The only Concern of *Richard* III. during his whole Reign, which laſted but two Years and two Months, was how to maintain himſelf upon the Throne, to which he was advanc'd by illegal Methods, and by a ſort of Election which was very irregular. And if he made any Treaties with Foreign Princes, it was only with that View. Therefore the publick Acts of this Reign relate only to domeſtic Affairs.

Proclamation and Coronation of Rich. III.

The new King was proclaim'd on the 22d of *June* 1483, and crown'd on the 6th of *July* following. Betwixt his Proclamation and Coronation he took the Great Seal from the Archbiſhop of *York*, who had ſhown too ſtrong an Attachment to the Family of *Edward* IV. and gave it to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. Next Day he ſettled the Poſt of Great Marſhal on the Lord *John Howard*, and his Heirs Male; and not many Days after, he created him Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Thomas* his Son Earl of *Surry*.

His Advancement of the Family of the Howards.

Among the Priſoners that *Richard*, while he was only Protector, had clapp'd up in the Tower, there were three Perſons of great Conſideration, namely, *Rotheram* Archbiſhop of *York*, Dr. *Merton* Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Thomas Stanley*, whoſe Crime was their diſcovering



KING RICHARD THE III.

BRITISH MUSEUM

vering too great an Attachment to the young King, and too much Affection for the whole Family of *Edward* IV. Conſequently the ſame Reaſon which had induc'd *Richard* to put them out of a Capacity to hurt him, ſtill ſubſiſted to engage him to detain them in Priſon till he was well fix'd upon the Throne. Nevertheleſs, his Fear of diſobliging the Clergy made him ſet the Archbiſhop of *York* at liberty. As to the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Univerſity of *Oxford*, whereof he was a Member, made ſuch ſtrong Intereſt for him, that the King did not think it proper to give them an abſolute Denial; but as he knew the Prelate was a Man of Parts, and capable of forming great Projects, when he releas'd him from the Tower he committed him to the Care of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who ſent him to his Caſtle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*, where he had a little more liberty than in his former Priſon. *Richard* was moſt of all puzzled what to do with Lord *Stanley*, becauſe he was ſenſible how much it wou'd be in his Power to make him uneaſy when once he was at liberty. Nevertheleſs, this Lord being very well belov'd by the People, and there being no plauſible Reaſon for detaining him in Priſon, and beſides, his Son the Lord *Strange* having begun to raiſe Troops in *Lincolnſhire*, the King was afraid that this Spark might occaſion a great Conflagration; and for this Reaſon he choſe to win him with Kindneſs, by delivering him out of the Tower, and giving him the Poſt of Steward of his Houſhold.

A 1483.

ABp of York *ſet at liberty.*

Bp of Ely *remov'd from the Tower to* Brecknoc *Caſtle.*

Lord Stanley *releas'd and promoted.*

THE preſent Conjuncture ſeem'd as favourable for maintaining the King upon the Throne, as he could wiſh for. The young King *Edward* and the Duke of *York* his Brother were Priſoners in the Tower, and the Queen their Mother

The favourable Poſture of Richard's *Affairs.*

Rich. III. with her Daughters were in the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, from whence they could not ſtir. The Marquis of *Dorſet*, the Queen's eldeſt Son by her firſt Husband, was fled for Refuge to another Aſylum, and *Richard Gray* his younger Brother had loſt his Head at *Pontefract*. The Earl of *Rivers* labour'd under a Diſtemper from which he was never like to recover, and which actually carry'd him off that very Year. *Richard Woodville* his Son was abſconded, and more intent how to ſave his own Life, than to do any harm to the new King. On the other hand, there was not a Prince of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* left in *England*, the preceding Wars having ſwept them all away. *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* was the only Perſon in the Kingdom that could pretend any Right to the Crown; but even that Right was far from being clear: beſides that ſhe was in the Power of her Huſband the Lord *Stanley*, whom the King had lately attach'd to his Service by a very conſiderable Poſt. As to the Earl of *Richmond*, he could not derive any Right but from his Mother, and he was ſo far from thinking of the Crown, that all his Care was to reconcile himſelf to the Affections of the Duke of *Bretagne*, to prevent his being deliver'd up into the Hands of his Enemies. In fine, the Princes and Princeſſes, who deſcended from the two firſt Marriages of *John* of *Gaunt*, Chief of the *Lancaſter* Family, were all in *Caſtile*, *Portugal*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, and did not ſeem inclin'd to aſſert the Rights of their Family. There was another thing too which might contribute to make *Richard* very eaſy in his Mind, *viz.* the Conſideration that moſt of the antient Families in *England* were extinct by the Civil War which had ſo long rag'd in the Kingdom, and that of thoſe

thoſe which ſtill ſubſiſted, there were but few which were not ruin'd, and ſtood in need of the King's Bounty to ſupport them. Among theſe antient Families of the greateſt Rank, were that of *Howard*, whoſe Chief *Richard* had juſt promoted to be Duke of *Norfolk*, and Great Marſhal; the Family of *Stafford*, at the Head of which was the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Friend and Creature; that of *Piercy*, whoſe Chief was the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had made no Scruple to declare for him in the Revolution that had lately happen'd; that of *Strange*, which he had newly ſecur'd to his Intereſt, by attaching the Lord *Stanley* to his Service: In fine, the Earl of *Oxford*, Chief of the antient Family of *Vere*, was Priſoner at the Caſtle of *Ham* in *Picardy*, to which he had been committed by *Edward* IV. Conſequently *Richard* ſaw nothing in the Kingdom which was likely to endanger his Repoſe. Yet as the Acts of Violence whereof he had been guilty, could not but breed ill Blood, he thought it high time to deprive the Malecontents of any Succours they might expect from abroad, by ſending Ambaſſadors to the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, and to the Duke of *Bretagne*, in order to renew the Alliances which his Predeceſſors had made with them. At the ſame time he made a Propoſal to the Court of *France* of a Congreſs of Ambaſſadors, to determine the Differences which had been betwixt the two Crowns; but *Lewis* XI. who was then in the Agonies of Death, was not in a Condition to take any Reſolution upon that Head.

A. 1483.

His Precautions againſt the Malecontents.

THESE were *Richard*'s firſt Cares after his Coronation; yet how much ſoever he might ſeem to pleaſe himſelf with the Thoughts of being out of Danger, he could not be perfectly eaſy while

*Rich.*III. while his Nephews were alive; not that he had any thing to fear from them, they being too young, and too well guarded to attempt any thing. But as one ill Action commonly draws on another, he reſolv'd to make all ſafe, by putting thoſe Princes out of the World; and under colour of ſome Violences committed by the Soldiers in the Northern Counties, he propos'd to make a Journey to *York*, becauſe he would not be at *London* when the two Princes were diſpatch'd. But as on the other hand he did not care to be too far off, by reaſon of Accidents which might happen, he pretended ſome Buſineſs at *Gloceſter*, where he ſtay'd ſome time. As ſoon as he arriv'd there, he ſent an Order to *Brackenbury*, Governor of the Tower of *London*, to put the two Princes to death. *Brackenbury* excus'd himſelf by a moſt reſpectful Repreſentation that he could not undertake it; and the King ſent one *James Tyrrel* to him with an Order ſign'd by his own Hand, enjoining him to ſurrender the Government of the Tower to him for twenty four Hours, and to give him the Keys of all the Rooms. *Tyrrel* being thereby Maſter of the Tower, took away the Lives of the two Princes, and caus'd them to be bury'd under a little Step, where 'tis ſaid their Bones were found in the Reign of *Charles* II.* This

Murder of the 2 Princes in the Tower.

* That induſtrious Antiquary Mr. *Strype* in his Animadverſions upon Mr. *Buck*'s Hiſtory of this Reign, ſays, They were diſcover'd by ſome Labourers who were digging at the Foot of the old Stairs leading into the Chapel of the White Tower, in order to make new ones for the eaſier Conveyance of great Heaps of Records, which were brought from the Six-Clerks Office, to be repoſited in this Tower: And that King *Charles* II. caus'd them to be tranſlated to *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, and decently interr'd there, near two other Royal Children, *Mary* and *Sophia*, the Daughters of King *James* I. where they

they lie with a Monument of white Marble, and this Inſcription, ſhewing that they were ſmother'd in a Feather-bed.

H. S. S.

Reliquiæ EDWARDI *quinti, Regis Angliæ, &* RICHARDI *Ducis Eboracenſis. Hos fratres germanos turre Londinenſi concluſos, injectiſq; Culcitris ſuffocatos, abditè & inhoneſtè tumulari juſſit Patruus* RICHARDUS, *perfidus Regni prædo. Oſſa deſideratorum diu & multum quæſita, poſt Annos* 191 *Scalarum in ruderibus, (Scalæ iſtæ ad Sacellum Turris Albæ nuper ducebant) altè defoſſa, indicijs certiſſimis ſunt reperta* 17° *die Julij Anno Dom.* 1674. CAROLUS II. *Rex Clementiſs. acerbam ſortem miſeratus inter avita Monumenta Principibus infeliciſſimis Juſta perſolvit, Anno Dom.* 1688, *Annoq; Regni ſui* 30. J. S.

Mr. *Strype* mentions likewiſe the extraordinary Gratifications, which the King granted to the Murderers, *viz.* to *James Tyrrel*, whom he knighted, the Office of Steward of ſeveral Lordſhips in *Wales*, and the Marches, for his Life; the chief Government of *Glamorganſhire*, the Wardſhip and Marriage of *Robert Arundel* of *Trerrice* Eſq; with the keeping of his Eſtate during his Minority; the Cuſtody of the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, and an Eſtate in the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal* which belong'd to Sir *Thomas Arundel*. To *Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower, ſeveral Manors in *Romney-Marſh*, all the Lands and Tenements in *Kent*, and elſewhere, lately belonging to the Earl *Rivers*, the *Chenies*, and *Walter Roberts*, of the value of 117*l.* and upwards; a Manor near *Berkampſtead*, and the Manor of *Glaſtenbury*. The King alſo appointed him Receiver, for his Truth, Sadneſs, and Diſcretion (as the Letters ran) of the Profits and Revenues of his Lordſhips of *Middleton* and *Merden* in *Kent*, Maſter and Operator of the Monies, and Keeper of the Exchange within the Tower during his Life, and Keeper of the Lions with the Fees. *Green*, one of the Yeomen of his Chamber, commonly ſaid to be his Meſſenger to *Tyrrel*, was made Receiver of the Lordſhip of the Iſle of *Wight*, and of the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Portcheſtre*. And *Dighton*, *Tyrrel*'s Horſe-keeper, had by the King's Gift the Bailywick of *Aiton* in *Staffordſhire* during his Life.

Rich. III. done, all their Domeſtics were turn'd away, from whence it was naturally ſuppos'd that the two Princes were no longer in being. As ſoon as the King had receiv'd the News, he proceeded on his Journey towards *York*, being glad of a ſhort Abſence from *London* after he had committed ſo baſe an Action.

Duke of Buckingh. claims the K's Promiſe, but is refus'd.

While he was at *Gloceſter*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had till then accompany'd him, deſir'd him to make good his Promiſe with reſpect to the Succeſſion of the Earl of *Hereford*, which we mention'd in the Reign of *Edward* V. But *Richard* did not think fit to grant him this Juſtice or Favor, and ſuppos'd he had rewarded him ſufficiently by other Acts of Kindneſs. The Duke receiv'd this Refuſal with a feign'd Acquieſcence, but from that very moment reſolv'd, whatever it coſt him, to be reveng'd. With this View he deſir'd leave of the King to repair to his Seat at *Brecknock*, whither he went to confer with his Priſoner the Biſhop of *Ely*, about Methods for dethroning the *Uſurper*, as he then call'd him, for whom he had ſo lately procur'd the Crown. The Sum of their Conſultations was to ſet *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* upon the Throne, on condition that he ſhould marry *Elizabeth*, who was *Edward* the Fourth's eldeſt Daughter. They hop'd by that means to unite the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, and that all the Adherents of the former, as well as all thoſe of the Houſe of *York* who were well affected to the Family of the late King, would ſide with them; and that conſequently the King would have but a very few Friends left to ſupport him. This was no ſooner reſolv'd upon, but they ſent advice of it to the Counteſs of *Richmond*, who made it known to the Earl her Son. But the latter not being in a Condition

He plots againſt him in favour of the E. of Richm. *afterwards* Hen. VII.

Condition to undertake any ſuch thing without the Approbation of the Duke of *Bretagne*, reſolv'd to acquaint him with the whole Secret, and made him ſenſible that it was his Intereſt to furniſh him with a Supply of Money, Men, and Shipping. On the other hand, the Queen Dowager eaſily conſented to the Marriage of her Daughter with the Earl of *Richmond*. Theſe firſt Overtures having ſucceeded as well as the Duke of *Buckingham* could wiſh, he continued the Execution of his Project, and ſent Emiſſaries into the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Cornwal* to engage ſome Gentlemen, who actually promis'd to raiſe Troops privately, and to join the Earl of *Richmond* as ſoon as he landed in thoſe Parts. During this, the Duke himſelf took the ſame Precautions in *Wales*, and in the Counties of *Hereford* and *Salop*, according to a Power which had been granted him in the preceding Reign, to the end that all Hands might be ready at once to join the Earl of *Richmond* in the Weſtern Counties. *A.* 1483. *Preparations to join him upon his landing in* England.

BEFORE we proceed to give an Account of the Succeſs of this Undertaking, it will not be improper, for the better underſtanding of the Sequel of the Hiſtory, juſt to take notice of the Foundation of the Earl of *Richmond*'s Claim to the Crown of *England*, and of the Objections to which it was liable: *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the third Son of *Edward* III. had three Wives: The firſt was *Blanche* of *Lancaſter*, by whom he had *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, who was King of *England* by the Name of *Henry* IV. and whoſe Poſterity was extinct at the time we are ſpeaking of. By that ſame Wife he had a Daughter nam'd *Philippa*, who marry'd *John* I. King of *Portugal*, and left a numerous Iſſue of whom nine Princes and Princeſſes *His Claim to the Crown examin'd.* John *of* Gaunt's *Wives and Iſſue.*

Rich. III. ceſſes were alive when *Richard* III. was upon the Throne of *England*. *John* of *Gaunt*'s ſecond Wife was *Conſtantia* of *Caſtile*, by whom he had no Child but a Daughter nam'd *Catherine*, who was Wife to *Henry* III. K. of *Caſtile*, and from whom deſcended, in a direct Line, Queen *Iſabel*, who ſat upon the Throne of that Kingdom with *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* her Husband. *John* of *Gaunt*'s third Wife was *Catherine Roet*, Widow of Sir *Otho de Swinford*, who was his Concubine during the Life of his ſecond Lady, and by whom he had three Sons and a Daughter. After the Death of his Wife *Conſtantia*, he marry'd this Miſtreſs of his, and obtain'd an Act of Parliament for legitimating the Children born before Marriage, together with *Richard* the Second's Letters Patent granted for the ſame purpoſe, in purſuance of the ſaid Act of Parliament. As to that Act, and the Letters Patent, 'tis obſervable, in the firſt place, that thoſe Children born before Marriage were not legitimated by the Name of *Lancaſter*, but by that of *Beaufort*, which was the Name of the Caſtle where they were born. Secondly, the Act and Letters Patent render'd thoſe Children capable of enjoying Eſtates, Titles, Honours, and Offices; but no mention was therein made of any Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, if there had been ever ſo much occaſion for it. *John* of *Beaufort*, the eldeſt of thoſe legitimate Children was created Duke of *Somerſet*, and left ſeveral Children, of whom the ſecond nam'd *John* was Duke of *Somerſet* after *Henry* his elder Brother. He left but one Daughter nam'd *Margaret*, who marry'd to her firſt Husband *Edmund Tudor*, a *Welchman*, Earl of *Richmond*, and Brother by the Mother's ſide to *Henry* VI. From this Marriage came *Henry* Earl

Earl of *Richmond*, the Perſon we are now treating of, whom the Duke of *Buckingham* was for placing upon the Throne of *England*. *Margaret* of *Somerſet*'s ſecond Husband was *Henry Stafford*, by whom ſhe had no Children; and the third was *Thomas Stanley*, who was actually living with her at the time of the preſent Conſpiracy. *A.* 1483.

THIS now being premiſed, if we only conſider the Right and Laws of *England*, independently of the Circumſtances, three Queſtions occur as to the Right of the Earl of *Richmond*, 1. Whether *Margaret* his Mother, who was deſcended from a Baſtard born before Marriage, and legitimated, could claim the Crown in that Rank, and enjoy all the Rights of the *Lancaſter* Family, as being a Deſcendant from the only Male Iſſue of *John* of *Gaunt*, whoſe Poſterity ſubſiſted; for all the Poſterity of *Henry* IV. was extinct, as well as all the Male Deſcendants of the firſt Duke of *Somerſet*, from whom *Margaret* deriv'd her Origin? 2. Whether admitting that *Margaret* could claim the Crown by her own Rank, ſhe ought to be preferr'd to the Poſterity of the Daughters whom *John* of *Gaunt* had by his two firſt Wives; that is to ſay, whether the Legitimation of *John* the firſt Duke of *Somerſet* gave him the ſame Right, and the ſame Rank as he would have had if he had been born after the Marriage of his Father and Mother? 3. Whether *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* could claim the Crown during his Mother's Life, at leaſt without *Margaret*'s expreſs Renunciation of it authoriz'd by Parliament? 'Tis obvious enough that I take no notice of the litigious Titles controverted betwixt the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, which are foreign to the preſent Caſe; and that I admit what the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Biſhop of *Ely* were contending

Rich. III. tending for, *viz.* that the only legal Title was that of the *Lancaſter* Family. Theſe are Queſtions, which I ſhall not undertake to decide, it being my ſole View to ſet the Reader right in point of Fact, not only as to the time we are now treating of, but alſo with regard to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, claim'd the Crown of *England*, as being deſcended from *John* of *Gaunt*'s two Daughters, and his two firſt Wives. Moreover, what I have now obſerv'd may hereafter the better enable the Reader to account for the Conduct of this ſame Earl of *Richmond*, who aſcended the Throne of *England* by the Name of *Henry* VII.

Richard *creates his Son Pr. of* Wales.

WHILE *Richard* was at *York*, little thinking what miſchief was contriving againſt him, he created his Son *Edward*, who was ten Years of Age, Prince of *Wales*, with a great deal of Solemnity. There it was that he receiv'd the agreeable News, that *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, King and Queen of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, had confirm'd their Alliance with *England*. He was ſo overjoy'd at this Advice, that to teſtify his Acknowledgments he made the *Spaniſh* Envoy a Knight, and wrote Letters of Thanks to the King and Queen of *Spain*, and their chief Miniſters; for indeed as his Affairs then ſtood, this Alliance was very advantageous to him. But a few Days after, this Joy was damp'd by ſome Intelligence that a certain Plot was on foot againſt him, but what it was, or by whom carry'd on, he could not learn. Mean time, after having conſider'd with himſelf, who among all the Nobility of the Kingdom were capable of raiſing Diſturbances, he thought it could be no body but the Duke of *Buckingham*. This was the reaſon that in order to obſerve him more

His Joy for the Alliance with Spain.

more narrowly he went to *Leiceſter*, and from thence ſent him an expreſs Order to repair to Court. The Duke excuſing himſelf on pretence of an Indiſpoſition, he ſent him a ſecond Order, much more preſſing than the former. And then the Duke return'd him anſwer, without any more Ceremony, that he could not truſt his Perſon with a Prince who had not kept his Word with him. At the ſame time, he caus'd the Troops he had ſecretly engag'd to rendezvous, and putting himſelf at the Head of 'em, march'd towards *Gloceſter*, with a Deſign there to paſs the *Severn*, in order to join the Earl of *Richmond*, who was to land in *Cornwal*. But the Rains, which fell at that time in great abundance, had ſo ſwell'd that River, that all the Country on both ſides was drown'd. This Inundation, which laſted ten Days, hindring him from paſſing over; and his Troops being no longer able to endure the Fatigue and Hunger which ſorely preſs'd them, he had the Mortification to ſee them fall off, notwithſtanding all he could do to keep them together; and at laſt had ſcarce any body left to accompany him. In this Extremity he ſaw no other Remedy but to go and hide himſelf at the Houſe of one *Baniſter*, who had been his Domeſtic. The King, hearing that the Duke's Army was thus diſpers'd, publiſh'd a Proclamation, not only againſt the Duke, but againſt the Marquis of *Dorſet*, who he ſuſpected was in the Conſpiracy, becauſe he had quitted his Sanctuary; and the King promis'd 1000 *l.* Sterling, to any that ſhould deliver them up dead or alive. *Baniſter* was not Proof againſt this Temptation, but went and made diſcovery to the Sheriff of the County, that he was at his Houſe; upon which the Duke was apprehended, and be-

A. 1484.

Miſtruſts the D. of Buckingh. *and ſends for him to Court.*

Duke of Buckingh. *takes Arms againſt him.*

He is aban-don'd by his Soldiers and hides himſelf.

But is ta-ken by a Proclama-tion,

*Rich.*III. headed at *Shrewsbury* without any Form of Proceſs, juſt as he himſelf had promoted the Execution of the Lord *Haſtings*, and the Priſoners at *Pontefract* *. During this, the Earl of *Richmond* arriv'd on the Coaſts of *England*; but a Spy that he ſent aſhore returning with the News that things did not go well there for him, he went back to *Bretagne*. After the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, the King conferr'd the Poſt of Vice-Conſtable upon one *Aſhton*, with a Power to try and execute upon the Spot, without Appeal, all Perſons guilty of the Conſpiracy, of whom there was a great number put to death.

And beheaded.

E. of Richmond *arrives on the* Engliſh *Coaſts, but returns.*

Aſhton *made Vice-Conſtable with a Commiſſion to try the Rebels.*

THE Parliament aſſembling in the beginning of the Year 1484, did whatſoever the King deſir'd them. The Children of *Edward* IV. were declar'd Baſtards, *Richard*'s irregular Election was confirm'd, and an Act of Attainder

Edw. IV's *Children declar'd Baſtards.*

* The Author of the Hiſtory of *England*, in two Volumes 8vo, has the following Remark on the ſad Fate which attended this noble Family; and on the Divine Vengeance which overtook the ungrateful perfidious Wretch whom they had promoted: 'The Duke's Grand-'father was kill'd at *St. Al-'bans*, and his Father at '*Northampton*, both in aſſiſt-'ing the Houſe of *Lancaſter* 'againſt the Houſe of *York*, 'and now this Duke loſt his 'Life for endeavouring to u-'nite them. 'Tis ſaid that '*Baniſter* who betray'd him 'not only loſt his Reward 'from the King, but was 'afterwards hang'd for Man-'ſlaughter; that his eldeſt 'Son fell mad, and died in a 'Hogſtye; that his ſecond 'was deform'd; his third 'drown'd in a ſmall Pud-'dle of Water; and that 'his eldeſt Daughter was de-'bauch'd by one of his Car-'ters, and died of a Lepro-'ſy.' And Dr. *Howel* adds, That *Baniſter* himſelf, in his extreme old Age, was found guilty of Murder, and only ſav'd by his Clergy. From the above-mention'd Account the Reader will perceive the Miſtake of thoſe Authors, and other Hiſtorians, who following the Chronicles of *Hall* and *Hollingſhed*, ſay, that the Duke was executed at *Salisbury*.

was

was paſs'd againſt the Earl of *Richmond*, the late Duke of *Buckingham*, and their Adherents. For thirty Years the Authority of the Parliament was only employ'd in confirming what was done before-hand. The Counteſs of *Richmond*, by good Luck, was not charg'd with having any ſhare in the Conſpiracy; yet the King miſtruſted her, and order'd her Husband, the Lord *Stanley*, to keep her cloſe at home. *A.* 1484.

Richard's Suſpicion of the Counteſs of Richm.

BUT while *Richard* was rejoycing with himſelf that he had been thus happily deliver'd from Danger, *Hutton* his Ambaſſador to *Bretagne*, being return'd from that Country, inform'd him, that notwithſtanding the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, the Earl of *Richmond* ſtill perſiſted in his former Deſign; that he had taken a ſolemn Oath in the Church of *Rennes*, that he would marry *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Edward* IV. that a great number of the *Engliſh* Fugitives were repair'd to him, and that the Duke of *Bretagne* promis'd him freſh Succours. This Advice made *Richard* very uneaſy; for he could never believe that the Earl of *Richmond* would engage in ſuch an Undertaking, if he had not been ſure of Aſſiſtance from ſome foreign Prince beſides the Duke of *Bretagne*. This made him take care to renew the Alliances of *England* with the King of *Portugal*, and with *Maximilian*, who govern'd the *Netherlands* in quality of Guardian to *Philip* his Son. As to *France*, *Lewis* XI. dying on the 29th of *Auguſt* the Year before, and the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* VIII. being diſturb'd by domeſtic Quarrels, *Richard* did not doubt but that Court would be very glad to keep fair with *England*, and therefore he ſent an Ambaſſador thither to propoſe the Confirmation of the Truce.

He renews his Alliances with foreign Powers, for fear of an Invaſion from the E. of Richmond.

Rich. III.

Rebellion in Bretag. *on account of* Peter Landais.

BRETAGNE was the Place from whence he had moſt to fear; and therefore he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Duke to renew the Truce with him: And *Richard* could not have wiſh'd for a more favourable Opportunity. The Lords of *Bretagne* were in Arms againſt the Duke, on account of *Peter Landais* his Miniſter and Favourite, whom they aim'd to put in Priſon; but miſſing their Blow, *Landais* prepar'd to reduce them to Obedience by force of Arms: For this purpoſe it was advantageous for him to be at Peace with *England*: and upon this account it was that *Richard*'s Embaſſy was very well receiv'd; and that ſoon after, the Duke of *Bretagne* ſent Ambaſſadors to *England*, who renew'd the Truce to the Month of *April* following, by a Treaty concluded at *Pontefract*.

MUCH about the ſame time *Richard* alſo concluded a Truce with *Scotland*; and in order to ſecure the Pope in his Intereſt, he ſent him an Embaſſy of Obedience, which he had till then neglected. At laſt he had the Pleaſure, moreover, to ſee that *Charles* VIII. deſir'd a Safe-Conduct of him for ſome Ambaſſadors that he deſign'd to ſend to him.

Richard's *Negotiations with the D. of* Bretag. *to deliver up the E. of* Richm.

BUT all this not being ſufficient to make him eaſy, he reſolv'd to go to the Fountain of the Miſchief, and to try if he could prevail with the Duke of *Bretagne* to deliver up the Earl of *Richmond* into his Hands. He ſent new Ambaſſadors to him on pretence of prolonging the Truce, which was to expire in the Month of *April*, but really to corrupt *Landais* his chief Miniſter, who directed all his Maſter's Affairs according to his own Will and Pleaſure. Theſe Ambaſſadors found the Favourite as well inclin'd as they could deſire, for the very Buſineſs they came to negotiate. But according to

to all appearance, the Terms which he demanded were not in their Power to grant, becauſe the Affair took up ſome time. And *Landais* was oblig'd to ſend the Biſhop of *Leon* to *Richard*, under pretence of ſome Difficulty which occur'd in the Concluſion of the Truce. By that means the Earl of *Richmond* came to be appriz'd of the Danger which hung over his Head. The Biſhop of *Ely*, who fled from *Brecknock* before the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and was got into *Flanders*, had ſuch good Spys at the Court of *England*, that he was inform'd the King had more frequent and ſecret Conferences with the Ambaſſador of *Bretagne* than the bare Negotiation of a Truce ſeem'd to demand. This made him ſuſpect that they were plotting the Ruin of the Earl of *Richmond*. He immediately advertis'd him of the whole; and the Earl manag'd it ſo cleverly that he had the good luck to eſcape to *France*; and being purſu'd, was within an Hour of being overtaken. *A.* 1484.

E. of Richmond *eſcapes to* France.

CHARLES VIII. gave the Earl a favourable Reception, but was not in a Capacity to help him, becauſe his Kingdom was ſtill full of Troubles. Mean time, the Earl of *Richmond*'s Friends in *England* continued to ſerve him, by rendring the King more and more odious by their Emiſſaries. As *Richard* had a great many Spys in the Country, he had intelligence that ſomething was ſtill tranſacting in favour of the Earl of *Richmond*, and that his Friends founded the Succeſs of their Enterprize upon his Marriage with *Elizabeth*. But to break all his Meaſures, he form'd that extraordinary Project of marrying that Princeſs himſelf, tho ſhe was his Niece, and the Queen his Wife living, and in very good Health. During this, the Prince of

Rich. III. *Wales* his Son dying, he appointed his Nephew the Earl of *Lincoln*, who was Son to *Elizabeth* his Siſter, and to the Earl of *Suffolk*, for his Succeſſor. Not long after, he ſent to tell his Siſter-in-law the Queen Dowager, who was ſtill in her Sanctuary, that as he had no Son left, he intended to ſecure her Succeſſion to the Family of the late King *Edward* his Brother, and to procure advantageous Matches for his Nieces; that tho he had at firſt deſign'd the Earl of *Lincoln* for his Succeſſor, he had now alter'd his Mind, and that there being no Act of Parliament for the Purpoſe, the Nomination might be revok'd with eaſe. Tho the Queen had all the Reaſon in the world to be diffident of a Prince whoſe Infidelity ſhe had already experienc'd, yet ſhe was ſo far blinded by the Advantages he promis'd, that ſhe gave him up her five Daughters. Soon after this, Queen *Anne*, Wife to *Richard*, dy'd ſo ſuddenly, that the Publick could not help believing ſhe had been poiſon'd, notwithſtanding the external Marks of Sorrow put on by the King. She was the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick* the *King-maker*, and had to her firſt Husband the Prince of *Wales*, Son to *Henry* VI. after whoſe Death ſhe was marry'd to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was charg'd with having murder'd her former Husband with his own Hands. The King's affected Sorrow being ſoon over, he made an Offer to his Niece *Elizabeth* of marrying her himſelf. But the Princeſs had ſuch an Abhorrence of the Propoſal, that ſhe told him in plain Terms, ſhe would accept of Death ſooner than of ſuch a Match.

Death of Richard's *Queen.*

His Propoſal to marry his Niece, receiv'd with her Abhorrence.

MEAN time, *Richard* render'd himſelf ſo odious every Day, that a great many Perſons of Diſtinction quitted the Kingdom, and went to offer

offer their Services to the Earl of *Richmond*, whom they conſider'd as the only Perſon to whom *England* could ſo properly have recourſe to be deliver'd from the Tyrant. The Earl of *Oxford* had not only found means to eſcape from the Caſtle of *Ham*, where he was a Priſoner, but he had alſo perſuaded the Governor to declare for the Earl of *Richmond*, and had carry'd him to *Paris* to vouch for his own Fidelity. *Richard* no ſooner heard this News, but he laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Ham*. The Earl of *Oxford* aſſembled a few Troops together in *France*, and advanc'd to relieve it; and tho he came too late, had the Satisfaction however to carry the Gariſon (which ſurrender'd upon Articles) to the Earl of *Richmond*. The Marquis of *Dorſet* was gone to join the Earl at *Paris*; but *Richard*, who continued to wheedle the Queen Dowager, carry'd his Point ſo far that ſhe had perſuaded her Son to return to *England*; of which the Earl of *Richmond* being inform'd, ſent Meſſengers after him, who brought him back to *Paris*, and he prevail'd upon him to ſtay with him.

A. 1485.

E. of Oxf. *flys to the* E *of* Rich. *from the Caſtle of* Ham, *which* Richard *beſieges.*

Marquis of Dorſet *ſets out for* Engl. *but is fetch'd back.*

RICHARD had kept a Fleet at Sea during the Year 1484; but in the beginning of 1485 he unrigg'd it, becauſe of the little Appearance there was that the Court of *France*, in the then Situation of Affairs, would aſſiſt the Earl of *Richmond*. This falſe Step reviv'd the Courage of the Earl of *Richmond*'s Friends in *England*, who continually perſuaded him to improve an Opportunity ſo favourable. At length, the Earl being preſs'd by his Friends, and ſpurr'd on by his own Ambition, repreſented to the King of *France* the Hopes he had to dethrone the Uſurper of *England*, if he had but a little Aſſiſtance. It was with ſome Difficulty that he

E. of Rich. *gets Aſſiſtance from the* Fr. K.

Rich. III. obtain'd what he requeſted; for the Council of *France* did not think it feaſible. Mean time the King granted him 2000 Men, and ſome Ships, more with a View to give Diſturbance to *England*, than with Deſign to place him upon the Throne. With this Handful of Troops *Henry* ſail'd in the beginning of *Auguſt*, and on the 6th of that Month, arriv'd happily at *Milford* in *Wales*. Since he could not poſſibly come at his Enemy without paſſing the *Severn*, he was oblig'd to croſs the whole Principality of *Wales* to *Shrewsbury*, the only Town upon that River where he could hope to find a free Paſſage. This gave *Richard* leiſure to aſſemble his Troops; but not being able to be time enough at the *Severn* to diſpute his Enemy's Paſſage, he reſolv'd to wait for him at *Leiceſter*. The Lord *Stanley* and his Brother *Savage* rais'd Troops alſo, as pretended, for the King's Service, but they were ſecretly engag'd for the Earl of *Richmond*; for *Stanley* did not dare to declare himſelf openly, becauſe the King having a Suſpicion of him, had oblig'd him to give him his Son for a Hoſtage. This Levy of Troops without Order having confirm'd the King in his Miſtruſt, he ſent for the two Brothers to come and join him, but they found ſome Pretext or other to be excus'd.

He arrives in Wales.

Battle of Boſworth, *the* 13*th and laſt betwixt the Houſes of* York *and* Lanc.

At length, the Earl of *Richmond* having very much increas'd his Army in his March, tho it was ſtill very inferior to the King's Army; and advancing every Day towards his Enemy, the two Armies met at *Boſworth*, where a Battle enſued on the 22d of *Auguſt* 1485. A little before it began, the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother arriv'd, and divided their Troops, poſting themſelves on the Right and Left of both Armies, over againſt the Ground which was deſign'd

ſign'd for the Field of Battle, and fronting each other. *Richard* was ſo ſurpriz'd at it, that he knew not what Judgment to form of ſuch an unaccountable Proceeding, for the Poſts which the two Brothers had taken were ſuch that each of the two Armies might very well believe their Deſign was to favour the one, and not the other. Nevertheleſs, *Richard* doubted of their Inclination for him, becauſe they took ſo much care to conceal it, and therefore he ſent to them to come and join his Army; and upon the equivocal Anſwer which they return'd, he was upon the Point of putting the Lord *Stanley*'s Son to death; but he was prevented by ſome of his General Officers, who repreſented to him, that according to all appearance the two Brothers poſted themſelves in that manner to be only Spectators of the Battle, and to range themſelves on the Side of the Conqueror whichſoever he was; and that therefore it was by no means adviſable to provoke them by ſuch an Act of Violence to ſide with his Enemies. The Battle, which began at that very Inſtant, did not permit him to take other Meaſures. All Hiſtorians agree, that upon this Occaſion *Richard* gave undoubted Proofs of his Valour and Intrepidity. He ſought for the Earl of *Richmond*, and having ſingled him out with his Eye, ran at him, and with a Stroke of a Lance kill'd Sir *William Brandon* who bore his Standard, and alſo fell'd down another Knight who ſtood betwixt them. The Earl of *Richmond*, being more cool, was very glad to ſuffer his Men to interpoſe between them, to prevent their coming to a perſonal Engagement. At length *Stanley* and his Brother ſeeing that the Victory was on the point of declaring againſt the Earl, took off the Mask, and flanking the Right and Left of the *A.* 1485.

Rich. III. the King's Army, which had already gain'd a great deal of Ground, entirely turn'd the Scale. The two Wings of the King's Army fled, and the Center gave way of it ſelf. Then *Richard* perceiving that the Battle was loſt, ruſh'd into the Enemy's main Body, where he was kill'd. The Duke of *Norfolk*, who commanded the Army under him, loſt his Life alſo upon this Occaſion; and his Son the Earl of *Surry* was taken Priſoner. The Crown which *Richard* wore upon his Head during the Battle, being found by a Soldier, was carry'd to the Lord *Stanley*, who went immediately and plac'd it upon the Head of the Earl of *Richmond*, ſaluting him at the ſame time with the Title of King *.

Richard kill'd in the Battle.

His Crown plac'd on the Head of the E. of Richm. *in the Field.*

AMONG the Acts of the Reign of *Richard* the third, there are ſome that have a manifeſt Relation to the Facts above-mention'd, and which may ſerve to confirm what we meet with in Hiſtories. There are others neceſſary for fixing the Dates of this Reign, and to ſhew the Months and Days of the ſeveral Events. And there are ſome too which ſeem abſolutely unneceſſary with Regard to Hiſtory, but may nevertheleſs be of uſe upon other Accounts. But I can only inſiſt upon thoſe of the firſt and ſecond Claſs, becauſe to take notice of all of them would be endleſs.

The Great Seal given to the Bp of Lincoln. 189.

1. A Memorandum of the Day upon which *Richard* III. gave the Great Seal to the Biſhop

* Thus ended the Civil Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, which broke out about 30 Years before, fill'd the Realm with Blood and Deſolation, and, as *Comines* affirms, took away the Lives of near 100000 Men, and 80 Princes of the Blood; but upon conſulting the Genealogical Table of *Edward* III's Poſterity, this laſt Number will appear too much exaggerated.

of

of *Lincoln*, viz. *June* the 27th 1483, at *Baynard's-Caſtle* in *Thames-Street*. *A.* 1483.

2. LETTERS Patent creating *John* Lord *Howard* Hereditary Marſhal of *England*, with the ſame Rights and Prerogatives as were enjoy'd by the laſt Duke of *Norfolk*; dated *June* the 28th 1483, at *Weſtminſter*.

Ld Howard *created Hereditary Marſhal of* Engl. 190. *Made D. of* Norfolk. 191.

IN this Patent *John Howard* has only the Title of a Baron, but in an Order of the 30th of *June* the King gives him the Title of Duke of *Norfolk*. By conſequence it muſt be the 28th or 29th that he was inveſted with the Honour of Duke of *Norfolk*.

3. A Commiſſion to *Bernard de la Force* to treat in quality of the King's Ambaſſador with the King and Queen of *Spain*; dated *June* the 12th 1483, at *Weſtminſter*.

Bernard de la Force *ſent Amb. to* Spain. 193. 198.

THERE is another Commiſſion of the like kind, dated the 30th of *Auguſt*, wherein the ſame *Bernard de la Force* is ſtyl'd one of his Majeſty's Counſellors, whereas in this he has only the Denomination of *Servientis noſtri*. 'Tis not improbable that he was call'd to the King's Council in that Interval.

4. A Commiſſion to *Thomas Hutton* to go and treat with the Duke of *Bretagne*; dated *July* the 13th 1483, at *Weſtminſter*.

Tho. Hutton's *Commiſſion to the D. of* Bretagne. 194.

5. A Commiſſion appointing Ambaſſadors for the Congreſs to be held with the Ambaſſadors of *France*, for redreſſing the Violations of the Truce committed on both ſides: *In eventu præfixæ Diætæ hujuſmodi*; dated *July* the 16th 1483, at *Weſtminſter*.

Congreſs of Engl. *and* Fr. *Amb. for confirming the Truce.* 195.

6. A Commiſſion to *Bernard de la Force* to deliver to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* the Ratification of the Alliance concluded with *Edward* IV. on condition of his receiving the like Ratification from them; dated *Aug.* 30 1483, at *Weſtmniſter*.

Alliance with the K. and Q. of Spain. 198.

Rich. III.

Spaniſh *Ambaſſad. knighted.* 200.

7. *RICHARD*'s Ratification of the Treaty; dated *Auguſt* the 31ſt, as above.

8. His Letters Patent, certifying that he has conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on *Jeffery de Saſiola*, Ambaſſador of *Spain*; dated at *York*, *September* the 8th 1483.

Letters of Thanks to the Span. *Court for renewing the Alliance.* 200, 201, 202.

9. *RICHARD*'s Letters of Thanks to King *Ferdinand*, Queen *Iſabel*, the Cardinal *de Mendoſa*, and the Count *de Leryn*, for renewing the Alliance; dated at *York* the 9th, 10th, and 12th of *December* 1483.

K. ſends for the Great Seal and keeps it above 7 Weeks in a Journey. 203.

10. A Memorandum ſignifying, that when the King was upon a Journey, he wrote to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Chancellor, to ſend him the Great Seal; and that from the 19th of *October*, when he receiv'd it, he kept it till the 26th of *November*, after which he reſtor'd it to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

Probably the King wanted to have ſome irregular Acts ſeal'd, to which he thought the Chancellor would refuſe to affix the Great Seal.

His Proclamation for the Reformation of Manners. 204.

11. A Proclamation wherein the King ſets forth the Oath he took at his Coronation to exerciſe Mercy and Juſtice; 'That he began his 'Reign with Mercy, by granting a general 'Pardon to his Subjects, in hopes that it would 'have bound them to their Allegiance, *&c.* but 'that nevertheleſs, *Thomas* late Marquis of '*Dorſet*, not having the Fear of God, nor the 'Salvation of his own Soul, before his Eyes, has 'damnably debauch'd and defil'd many Maids, 'Widows, and Wives, and liv'd in actual Adultery with the Wife of *Shore*: That moreover 'nine other Perſons, mention'd in the Proclamation, are aſſembled in Arms with the Traitors and Rebels the Duke of *Buckingham*, and

'the

'the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Saliſbury*, for the De- *A.* 1483.
'ſtruction of the King and Kingdom, *&c.*

'WHEREFORE the King, in order to purge 'the Realm of Debauchees and Traitors, pro- 'miſes a Reward of 1000 *l.* Sterling, or 100 *l.* 'a Year in Land, to whoſoever ſhould deliver 'up the ſaid Duke to him; 1000 Marks in 'Money, or 100 in Land, for the Marquis and 'each of the Biſhops, and 500 Marks in Money, 'or 40 *l.* in Land for each of the other Perſons. 'This Proclamation is dated *October* the 23d '1483, at *Leiceſter*.

As the Marquis of *Dorſet* was not with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and as the King therefore could not accuſe him of Treaſon, he made a Handle of thoſe pretended Debaucheries to get him apprehended; and this perhaps is one of thoſe Acts to which the Chancellor would have ſcrupled to affix the Great Seal.

12. A Commiſſion appointing Sir *Ralph Aſhton*, for the preſent Occaſion, Vice-Conſtable of *England*, for the Tryal of Perſons guilty of the Rebellion; dated at *Coventry*, *October* the 24th 1483.

Sir Ralph Aſhton *made Vice-Conſtable to try the Rebels.* 205.

THIS was another of thoſe extraordinary Inſtruments, which the King had a mind to ſeal himſelf. Theſe are the Terms of the Commiſſion.

DANTES & concedentes vobis, tenore Præſentium, poteſtatem & auctoritatem generalem, & mandatum ſpeciale, ad audiendum & examinandum, ac procedendum contra quaſcunque Perſonas, de crimine læſæ noſtræ Regiæ Majeſtatis ſuſpectas & culpabiles, tam per viam examinationis Teſtium, quam aliter, prout vobis melius viſum fuerit ex officio mero, ſeu promoto.

Rich. III. *NEC non in cauſis illis judicialiter & ſententialiter, juxta cauſæ exigentiam, & Delinquentium demerita, ſine ſtrepitu & figura judicij; appellatione quacunque remota; quandocunque vobis videbitur, procedendum, judicandum, & finali executioni demandandum ..... aſſumpto vobiſcum aliquo Tabellione fide digno, qui ſingula conſcribat,* &c.

i. e. 'GIVING and granting to you by the 'Tenor of theſe Preſents a general Power and 'Authority, and a ſpecial Command, to hear, 'examine, and proceed againſt all Perſons 'whatſoever, guilty or ſuſpected of the Crime 'of High-Treaſon againſt us, either by way 'of Interrogation of Witneſſes, or otherwiſe, 'as ſhall ſeem to you moſt expedient and ſui-'table to your Office.

'As alſo in theſe Cauſes judicially and ſen-'tentially, according to the Exigency of the 'Caſe, and Demerit of the Delinquent, with-'out the Noiſe and Formality of Tryal, and 'without regard to any Appeal whatſoever, to 'proceed, determine, and commit to final 'Execution, whenever you ſhall think fit .... 'taking to your Aſſiſtance ſome Publick Nota-'ry of known Fidelity, who may commit eve-'ry thing to Writing, *&c.*'

Pardon of the ABp of Cant. 208. 13. A Pardon for *Thomas* the Cardinal Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; dated *December* the 13th 1483, at *Weſtminſter*.

Ld Stanley *created High-Conſtable.* 209. 14. A Patent appointing *Thomas* Lord *Stanley* High-Conſtable of *England*; dated *December* the 16th 1483, at *Weſtminſter*.

K's Letter of Obedience to the Pope. 214. 15. *RICHARD* the Third's Letter to Pope *Sixtus* IV. wherein he promiſes to pay him his Obedience by the Biſhop of *St. David*'s, and deſires to be excus'd for not having done it ſooner,

ſooner, on account of the foregoing Conſpiracy; dated the Day before the Calends of *March* 1484, at *London*. *A.* 1484.

16. HIS Letters Patent for erecting the Society of Heralds at Arms into a Corporation; dated *March* the 2d 1484, at *Weſtminſter*. *Heralds at Arms made a Corporation.* 215.

17. *RICHARD*'s Letter to the Pope, deſiring him to confer the Dignity of a Cardinal upon *John Sherwode*, Biſhop Elect of *Durham*, and Ambaſſador at *Rome*; dated the 6th of the Nones of *March* 1484, at *London*. *K's Suit to the Pope, to make the Bp of* Durham *a Cardinal.* 216.

18. The Biſhop of *St. Davids* Credentials to *Charles* VIII. dated at the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, *March* the 11th 1484. *Bp of* St. Davids *Credentials.* 221.

19. A Commiſſion for the Biſhop of *St. Davids* going to *Rome* to treat with *Charles* VIII. dated at *Nottingham*, *March* the 21ſt 1484. 223.

20. A Treaty betwixt *England* and *Bretagne*, from the 1ſt of *July* 1484, to the 24th of *April* 1485; dated *June* the 8th, at the Caſtle of *Pontefract*. *Truce with* Bretagne. 226.

21. THE Approbation and Ratification of the Treaty of Alliance formerly concluded betwixt *Richard* II. and *Portugal*; dated *June* the 25th 1484, at *York*. *Treaty with* Port. 228.

22. A Commiſſion to *John Gray* to command 1000 Archers, who are to be ſent to the Duke of *Bretagne*; dated *June* the 26th 1484, at *Weſtminſter*. J. Gray's *Commiſſion.* 229.

23. ANOTHER to treat with *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*; dated *Auguſt* the 11th 1484, at *Weſtminſter*. *Negotiation with* Maximil. *of* Auſtria. 231.

24. TWO Commiſſions from the King of *Scotland*, to treat with *Richard* concerning the Marriage of the Prince of *Scotland*, to *Anne* Daughter of the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, and Niece to *Richard*, and relating to the Peace or Truce; dated *Auguſt* 30 and 31, 1484, at *Edinburgh*. *K. of* Scotland's *Negotiations about the Marriage of his Son.* 232.

25. *Ri-*

Rich. III. 25. *RICHARD*'s Safe-Conduct for the Ambaſſadors whom the King of *France* was to ſend into *England*; dated *September* the 13th 1484, at *Nottingham*.

Truce with Scotl. 235. 26. A Treaty of Truce for three Years betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; dated *September* the 20th as above.

Treaty for the Pr. of Scotland's Marriage. 242. 27. ANOTHER for the Marriage of the Prince of *Scotland* with *Anne* of *Suffolk*; dated *September* the 21ſt, as above.

Commerce with the Netherl. 249. 28. A Treaty of Commerce betwixt *England* and the *Netherlands*; dated at *Ghent*, *October* the 6th 1484.

K's Obedience to the Pope. 255. 29. A Commiſſion to the Biſhops of *Durham* and *St. Davids* to pay Obedience in his Name to Pope *Innocent* IV. dated *December* the 16th 1484, at *Weſtminſter*.

Commiſſion to treat with an Amb. from Bretagne, 269. 30. A Commiſſion from *Richard* to treat with the Biſhop of *Leon*, Ambaſſador from *Bretagne*; dated *February* the 20th 1485, at *Weſtminſter*.

31. TREATY for prolonging the Truce betwixt *England* and *Bretagne* to the 29th of *September* 1492, and *Richard*'s Ratification; dated *March* the 7th 1485, at *Weſtminſter*.

John *of* Gloceſter *made Governor of* Calais. 260. 32. A Patent appointing *John* of *Gloceſter*, the King's natural Son, Governor of *Calais*; dated *March* the 11th, as above.

33. ANOTHER appointing Sir *Ralph Aſhton* Vice-Conſtable of *England*; dated *April* the 29th 1485, at *Weſtminſter*.

Inquiry into the Popes Bull ſent to Guernſey. 269. 34. A Commiſſion to examine whether a certain Bull ſent from the Pope to the Iſles of *Guernſey* is not prejudicial to the King; dated *May* the 14th 1485, at *Weſtminſter*.

Diſpoſal of the Great Seal. 271, 272. 35. THE Removal of the Great Seal from the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and the Grant of it to *Thomas Barowe* Maſter of the Rolls; dated *July* the 24th and *Auguſt* the 1ſt 1485.

THE

THE Royal Race of Plantagenets, *of which* Richard III. *was the laſt King, having been in poſſeſſion of the Crown of* England, *from Father to Son, for the ſpace of* 330 *Years, we are perſuaded the Reader will not think it an unneceſſary Interruption to finiſh their Hiſtory with a Summary Recapitulation, which Mr.* Rapin *has given in his fourth Volume, of what happen'd moſt memorable to the Kings of that Family while it ſat upon the Throne. In this Account of fourteen Reigns, which he juſt glances over, one ſees with Aſtoniſhment that the Happineſs and Glory which this Race enjoy'd for above* 300 *Years, was very little, compar'd with their Misfortunes.*

HENRY II. the firſt King of this Family, was the greateſt of all the *Engliſh* Monarchs, if we conſider the Extent of his Dominions; for beſides the Kingdom of *England*, he poſſeſs'd in *France* the Counties of *Guyenne*, *Poictou*, *Santonge*, *Auvergne*, *Limouſin*, *Perigord*, *Angoumois*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Normandy*, to which he likewiſe added *Bretagne*, by the Marriage of one of his Sons with the Heireſs of that Duchy. In fine, he alſo conquer'd *Ireland*. But with all this he was never happy; for his Quarrel with *Thomas Becket*, the Perſecution he ſuffer'd from Pope *Alexander* III. the Revolt of his Queen and Children from him, and the unhappy Succeſs of the laſt War he had with *France*, did not permit him to enjoy a Moment's Eaſe.

RICHARD I. render'd his Name famous in the Eaſt by the Conqueſt of the Iſle of *Cyprus*, by the taking of *Acre*, and by a great Victory which he gain'd over the *Saracens*. But the Reputation which he acquir'd in that Expedition was very

expenſive to *Chriſtendom*, and to *England* in particular, by reaſon of the vaſt numbers of Men and Sums of Money which it drain'd from them, while the Chriſtians of *Paleſtine* were little the better for it. And *Richard* himſelf at his Return into *England*, was expos'd to the Severities of a cruel and tedious Impriſonment, and forc'd to pay an exceſſive Price for his Ranſom, which quite exhauſted his Kingdom. In fine, after having ſtruggled for many Years with his Rival *Philip Auguſtus*, without having gain'd any conſiderable Advantage over him, he was unhappily kill'd with an Arrow from a Croſsbow at the Siege of *Chaluz*, which he undertook purely from a Principle of Avarice.

JOHN Lackland had not a happy Minute during all his Reign; for being perſecuted one while by the King of *France*, then by Pope *Innocent* III. and at laſt by his own Subjects, his whole Reign was but a continued Series of Misfortunes. He preſently loſt all the Provinces which his Anceſtors had poſſeſs'd in *France*; and afterwards *Innocent* III. depriv'd him of his Crown, and did not reſtore it to him but upon ſuch Conditions as were to the laſt degree diſgraceful. In fine, he had the Mortification to ſee his Barons in Arms againſt him, and all *England* on his Death-bed ſubmitting to the Laws of a foreign Prince.

HENRY III. a Prince of a very poor Spirit, always liv'd in Servitude, tho ſeated on a Throne, being ever a Slave to his Favourites and Miniſters, or elſe to the imperious Commands of the Popes. At laſt, being ſtripp'd of all his Authority by his own Subjects, he was for a while Priſoner to his greateſt Enemies; and it was only to the Succeſs of a Battle gain'd by the Prince his Son that he was oblig'd

for his Reſtoration, and for the Tranquillity he enjoy'd the two laſt Years of his Life.

EDWARD I. render'd his Name famous by the Conqueſt of *Scotland*; but after having caus'd Torrents of Blood to be ſhed in that unjuſt Quarrel, he had the Mortification to loſe it, and to die before he had repair'd the Loſs. His Conqueſt of *Wales* was indeed the moſt ſolid Advantage that ever any King of *England* had procur'd for his Kingdom.

THE Reign of *Edward* II. was only remarkable for his ill Conduct and Misfortunes. He was the firſt Inſtance of a King of *England* depos'd by Parliament: Happy had he been if the Rage of his Enemies had ſtopp'd there; but with a Barbarity not to be parellel'd he was put to the moſt painful Death that 'tis poſſible to imagine; a Death which had not any Proportion to the falſe Steps of which he had been guilty.

EDWARD III. was one of the moſt famous Kings in the *Engliſh* Catalogue, as well for his perſonal Qualities, as for his Victories in *France*, and the ſignal Treaty of *Bretigny*, by which the Provinces in *France* that *John Lackland* had ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſtripp'd of, were reſtor'd to him with Intereſt. Yet his Reign, tho glorious, was not exempt from Misfortunes. His Minority was ſtain'd with the tragical Murder of *Edward* II. his Father, and the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle. As a Conſequence of thoſe horrible Acts he was oblig'd to keep his own Mother in Priſon during Life; and at the cloſe of his Days he had the Mortification to ſee all that he had re-conquer'd in *France* taken away, without hopes of ever being able to recover it. In fine, he may be ſaid to have ruin'd his own Reputation, and died at a time when his

Subjects alſo began to loſe that Eſteem which they once had for him.

HITHERTO 'tis plain that the Family of *Plantagenets* did not enjoy much Happineſs; but their Diſgraces, being brighten'd with ſome Proſperities, were nothing to the Shocks which they ſuffer'd afterwards. When we conſider what happen'd to the Poſterity of *Edward* III. one ſees nothing but Misfortunes, tragical or untimely Deaths, Hatred, Animoſities, Revenge, Civil Wars, and unheard-of Cruelties between Princes deſcended from one and the ſame Stock. *England* never ſaw ſo terrible a Deſtruction of its Inhabitants, and never were the Scaffolds dy'd with ſo much Noble and Royal Blood, as during the Space of a hundred Years, which expir'd with the Death of *Richard* the Third. We will juſt run over the ſeveral Branches of *Edward* the Third's Family, to take a ſhort View of its Calamities.

EDWARD Prince of *Wales*, one of the moſt accompliſh'd Princes that ever was bred, died at 46 Years of Age, after having loſt *Edward* his eldeſt Son, who was but in his ſeventh Year.

RICHARD his ſecond Son, who came to the Throne after his Grandfather, was depos'd, impriſon'd, and cruelly murder'd in Priſon.

LIONEL Duke of *Clarence*, ſecond Son to *Edward* III. died abroad in the very Flower of his Age, leaving but one Daughter, whoſe Marriage into the Family of *Mortimer* was the Source of all the Calamities with which *England* was afflicted for thirty Years ſucceſſively.

THE Poſterity of *John* of *Gaunt*, *Edward*'s third Son, was far from being happy; for *Henry* IV. Succeſſor to *Richard* II. ſpent his whole Reign in continual Fears leſt he ſhould loſe the

the Crown, which he had acquir'd by extraordinary Methods, and which to preſerve he had caus'd *Richard* II. to be put to death in Priſon.

HENRY V. one of the moſt illuſtrious Kings that ever wore the *Engliſh* Crown, after having made ſuch a Progreſs in *France*, as to be declar'd Regent and Heir of that Kingdom, did not enjoy an Advantage ſo conſiderable above two Years, or rather had but a Foretaſte of what he had ſo much long'd for, becauſe he died in the Flower of his Age, leaving a Son but nine Months old, who prov'd uncapable to compleat that Work which his victorious Father had ſo happily begun.

THE Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford*, and *Gloceſter*, died all three without Iſſue. The laſt was expos'd a long time to the Rage of his Enemies, and at length ſacrific'd to their Revenge.

HENRY VI. Son to *Henry* V. loſt all that the King his Father had acquir'd in *France*; after which he was ſtripp'd of his Dignity and impriſon'd, and tho reſtor'd for a ſhort ſpace, was at laſt aſſaſſinated by a Prince who deſcended from the ſame Stock.

EDWARD his Son the Prince of *Wales* periſh'd after the ſame manner, and by the ſame Hand.

IF we run over the ſecond Branch of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, *viz.* that of *Beaufort-Somerſet*, we ſcarce find any of its Princes but what died in Battles, or upon Scaffolds.

THE Family of *York*, whoſe Head was *Edmund* of *Langley*, fourth Son to *Edward* III. far'd ſtill worſe, and ſome unlucky Conſtellation ſeem'd to be continually ſhedding its malignant Influences on that Family; for excepting *Edmund* of *Langley*, the firſt Duke of *York*, all the

Princes his Deſcendants died a violent or untimely Death.

Edward Duke of *York*, his eldeſt Son, was kill'd at the Battle of *Agincourt*.

Richard Earl of *Cambridge* loſt his Head upon a Scaffold.

Richard, third Son to the Duke of *York*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland* his Son, were kill'd at the Battle of *Wakefield*.

And *George* Duke of *Clarence* was drown'd in a Butt of *Malmſey*.

Edward IV. after having for ſome Years wore the Crown of *England*, to which he had a better Title than the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, died indeed a natural Death, but it was at the Age of 42.

Edward V. and *Richard* his Brother were ſmother'd in their Bed.

Edward Prince of *Wales*, Son to *Richard* III. was taken out of the World at the Age of 11. And,

Richard III. was kill'd at the Battle of *Boſworth*.

In fine, we ſhall perceive in the Sequel of our Hiſtory, that *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, Son to the unhappy Duke of *Clarence*, and the only Male left of the *York* Family, loſt his Life by the Hands of the Hangman.

And to compleat the Narrative of all the Diſaſters that fell on the Poſterity of *Edward* the Third, nothing more remains but to obſerve that *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Earl of *Gloceſter*, his fifth Son, died a violent Death in his Priſon at *Calais*.

SOME no doubt will conſtrue theſe Misfor-ortunes which befel the Family of *Edward* III. to be the Effects of the Divine Wrath, extended even to the fourth Generation, for the Barbarity committed on the Perſon of *Edward* II. However, 'tis almoſt impoſſible not to take notice how the tragical Death of *Edward* II. was reveng'd upon *Richard* II. that of *Richard* upon *Henry* VI. that of *Henry* upon *Edward* V. and that of *Edward* upon *Richard* III.

H. VII.

THE Reign of Henry VII. *may conveniently be divided into three principal Articles,* viz. Domeſtic *Affairs, thoſe with* France *and* Bretagne, *and the Affairs with* Scotland. *'Tis abſolutely neceſſary to follow this Diviſion in our Account of the* Fœdera, *otherwiſe that noble Collection would appear like a Chaos, or Confuſion of Elements, which it would be next to impoſſible to clear up and ſeparate.*

I. *Domeſtic Affairs.*

His extraordinary Acceſſion to the Crown.

HENRY Tudor Earl of *Richmond* came to the Throne of *England* after an extraordinary manner, without any formal Call to it, without any Demand of the Crown in Parliament, which had the ſole Right to diſpoſe of it, without any Publication of his Claim, and perhaps without knowing himſelf whereon to found it. As that was the Foundation of the Conſpiracies againſt him, and of his continual Fears leſt the Crown he had ſeiz'd ſhould be rent from him, 'tis proper juſt to recal to mind what has been already ſaid concerning this Prince's Title. It was very litigious, to ſay no worſe, conſider'd in it ſelf, and independent of the Succeſs of the Battle of *Boſworth*, which carry'd his Cauſe. No wonder, therefore, when one reads the Hiſtory of this Prince, to ſee him wholly thoughtful how to keep the Crown upon his Head, becauſe of the Apprehenſion he was under continually, leſt the Efforts of his Enemies ſhould at laſt be too powerful for all his Precautions. It was this Fear that made him always extremely cautious of engaging in foreign Wars, which might call his Eyes off from the ſtrict Watch he thought ſo neceſſary to keep over his own Subjects. But being

His Character.



KING HENRY THE VII.TH

BRITISH MUSEUM

being covetous of Money to the laſt degree, and on the other hand the moſt dextrous Man in the world to turn every thing to his own Advantage, he often engag'd in thoſe Wars for a Pretence only to demand Subſidies of the Parliament to enable him to ſupport them, and when he had obtain'd them, his next and only Care was to make Peace. It was not in this alone that he diſcover'd his exceſſive Avarice, but in abundance of other Inſtances, upon which I have not room to expatiate: It may be ſufficient for me to obſerve that theſe two Paſſions, his Fear of loſing the Crown, and his Avarice are properly the diſtinguiſhing Characters of his Reign: They are as it were the two Maſter-Keys which let us into the Motives of his Conduct, and at the ſame time into the Aim and Meaning of a vaſt number of Inſtruments in this and the next Tome of the *Fœdera*, which otherwiſe one could never have fully underſtood. *A.* 1485.

A Diſſertation on his Right to the Crown.

WHEN *Henry* reſolv'd to return to *England* upon the Invitation even of the *York* Party, 'tis highly probable that he conſider'd his future Marriage with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, as the firſt Step by which he could expect to riſe to the Throne. But when he ſaw his Army ſo impatient to proclaim him King, immediately after his Victory over *Richard*, that they would needs do it in the very Field of Battle, then he was determin'd undoubtedly to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the Crown by his own Right, without being beholden for it either to his Marriage or to the Parliament. When he had form'd this Reſolution, he was cautious in every Step he took of mixing his Title with that of the *York* Family, tho it was upon that very Score that the Adherents of both Families had united in his Favour. And it was with this View

H. VII. View that he caus'd himſelf to be crown'd by the Name of *Henry* VII. before the Celebration of his Marriage, and before the Seſſion of Parliament: Conſequently, when the Parliament met a few Days after the Coronation, they had nothing to do but to continue the new King, who was actually upon the Throne; tho by what Right he ſat there, they did not very well know. *Henry* had his Reaſons for acting in this manner. He was very ſenſible, that if he had referr'd his Title to the Examination of Parliament, he could only have been admitted by favour of his Marriage with *Elizabeth* of *York*, according to the Intention of thoſe who had call'd him over; but in this he found two great Inconveniencies. In the firſt place, that it would look as if he renounc'd his own Right for the ſake only of being King by his Wife's Courteſy. In the ſecond place, *Elizabeth* might die before him without Iſſue, and in that caſe *Cæcilia*, her younger Siſter, would have an indiſputable Title to the Crown, whether *Henry* enjoy'd it in Capite from the Queen, or by vertue of an Union of the Rights of the two Houſes. For this reaſon he always laid it down for a Principle, that the Houſe of *York*'s Pretenſions were at beſt but frivolous, and that the Crown was indiſputably devolv'd to him. Nevertheleſs, the extraordinary Jealouſy which he always diſcover'd of the Houſe of *York* plainly ſhew'd, that he was not ſo ſure of the Juſtice of his Title, as he would fain have had it believ'd. The Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was the firſt Inſtance of that Jealouſy. *Richard* III. had caus'd this young Prince, who was his elder Brother's Son, to be ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Sheriff-Hutton* in *Yorkſhire*, for fear leſt he ſhould diſpute the Crown

Henry's Jealouſy of the H. of York.

Crown with him. But *Henry* to make ſtill more ſure of him, had him remov'd to the Tower while he was on the Road for *London*, becauſe he did not care to leave a Prince at ſuch a diſtance from him, who if he ſhould chance to eſcape from Priſon, might prove a very troubleſome Thorn in his Side. *A.* 1485. *E. of* Warwick *committed to the Tower.*

THE firſt Parliament that met in this Reign, being in a Diſpoſition to follow the Directions of the new King, did not think fit to examine by what Authority *Henry* plac'd himſelf on the Throne; and indeed ſuch an Inquiry would have been to no purpoſe, ſince he had already the Crown upon his Head. They made an Act therefore conformable to the King's Intereſt, by which it was enacted, *That the Imperial Crown of* England *ſhould continue to King* Henry *the Seventh, and his Poſterity.* This Act made no mention either of the Rights of the *York* Family, or of thoſe of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, nor of the King's Marriage to *Elizabeth*. As every body had a Notion that *Henry* only came into *England* with an Intention to blend his Rights with thoſe of the *York* Family, the King was very glad to leave them in the ſame State of Uncertainty on that Head, and was ſatisfy'd in his having caus'd an Act to be paſs'd which did not in the leaſt interfere with his Deſign entirely to exclude the Family of *York*. Conſequently, no body could as yet know upon what Foundation the King's Right was grounded. *Henry* took care afterwards to get this Act confirm'd by a Bull from the Pope, which ſhew'd that he had produc'd four Titles to his Holineſs, but without giving the Preference to any one more than another: Theſe were, 1. His Deſcent from *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*. 2. His Marriage with *Elizabeth* of *York*. 3. His Victory

Parl's Indifference about Henry's *Title.*

Their Act in favour of him.

Confirm'd by a Bull from the Pope.

H. VII. Victory at *Boſworth*: And, 4. the above-mention'd Act of Parliament. The Allegation of all theſe Titles together, which ſeem'd to corroborate one another, only ſerv'd to ſhew in the main how uncertain he was, with reſpect to the Foundation of his Right. Mean while, ſince he was not marry'd at the time of his Coronation, and that the Act of Settlement was not yet made, 'tis evident, that, at that time, he could only ground his Claim upon the firſt and third of thoſe Titles.

His Diſpenſations for his Marriage.

HENRY did not marry *Elizabeth* till about two Months after his Coronation, leſt he ſhould be thought to ſtep into the Throne by Right of his Wife, or at leaſt by vertue of the Rights of the two Houſes blended together by the Marriage. And as they were akin to each other from the third to the fourth degree of Conſanguinity, they ſtood in need of a Diſpenſation. The Biſhop of *Imola*, who was the Pope's Nuncio in *England* and *Scotland*, with the Power of *Legate a latere*, granted him a Diſpenſation by vertue of an Authority veſted in him, to give ſuch Diſpenſations to twelve Perſons, who ſtanding in the ſame Degree of Relation, had a mind to contract ſuch Marriages. Afterwards, *Henry* fearing there might be ſome Flaw found in it, becauſe it was not natural for a King and a Queen to be compris'd in the Power given to a Nuncio, deſir'd and obtain'd another Diſpenſation of the Pope himſelf; but becauſe this made no mention of the former Diſpenſation, and was dated likewiſe after the Conſummation of the Marriage, he procur'd a third, which confirm'd what he had from the Nuncio.

IT was perfectly againſt the Grain that this Prince marry'd *Elizabeth*, for he would undoubtedly have dropp'd her if he could, or durſt have done it. But the ſolemn Oath he had taken in the Church at *Rennes*, and the Fondneſs of the People of *England* for this Marriage, did not permit him to take off the Mask ſo openly. Nevertheleſs, he could not help fearing that this Marriage would do him a Prejudice, becauſe every body was convinc'd in their Minds, that the reaſon of his being call'd over was to unite the Titles of the two Houſes, and becauſe they made but little Account of his Right abſtracted from that of *Elizabeth*. Moreover, he had a mortal Averſion to the whole Family of *York*, without excepting even the Queen his Wife, whom he conſider'd as his Rival, and whom he mortify'd in a great many Inſtances. *A.* 1485. *His Averſion to the Match.* *And to the whole* Yor. *Family.*

HE did not conſent to her Coronation till two Years after their Marriage; and probably never would, if the Uneaſineſs which ſuch harſh Treatment of her created among the People had not made him apprehenſive of the greateſt Inconveniencies. Tho they were properly the Friends and Creatures of the Houſe of *York* who had plac'd him on the Throne, yet when he had form'd the Reſolution to reign by his own Right ſolely, he was ſenſible how much they were againſt it, and therefore from that time could never repoſe any Confidence in them. It was this Partiality for the Friends of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* that brought all thoſe Croſſes upon him, to which he was expos'd during almoſt his whole Reign; whereas, if he could but have reſolv'd to have kept an even Balance between the Partiſans of both Houſes, and to have humour'd the Intention of thoſe who *His indifferent Carriage to the Queen.* *His Diffidence of the* York-iſts.

H. VII. who call'd him to the Crown, in all Probability his Reign would have been very quiet.

It being impoſſible to enter into an ample Detail of the Domeſtic Affairs of his Time in this place, I ſhall only point out the principal Events, the rather becauſe the Collection of the publick Acts does not furniſh a great many Pieces for this Article. What I have ſaid hitherto, and a great part of what I ſhall add hereafter is not ſo much for explaining the Acts which relate to Domeſtic Affairs, as for keeping to the Plan I firſt laid down for abridging the Hiſtory of *England*.

Ld Lovel *and the* Staffords *take Arms againſt the King.*

The King being at *York* about the middle of the Year 1486, receiv'd the News that the Lord *Lovel*, who had been one of the Confidents of *Richard* III. was marching againſt him at the Head of three or four thouſand Men; and that the two Brothers of the *Stafford* Family had taken Arms in *Worceſterſhire*, and laid Siege to the Capital of that County, which News could not but be very perplexing to him; for he was without Troops, in the very Heart of a County where the Houſe of *York* had a great number of Friends, and in a large City whoſe Affections he ſuſpected. Nevertheleſs, he put a good Face on it; and having rais'd ſome Troops in and about *York*, he gave the Command thereof to his Uncle the Earl of *Pembroke*, whom he had created Duke of *Bedford*.

But are oblig'd to fly, and the Rebels to diſperſe.

This Lord found a way to diſperſe the Rebels without fighting them, and to oblige the Lord *Lovel* to fly to *Flanders*. The two *Staffords* hearing of this, endeavour'd likewiſe to make their Eſcape, but were taken, and the eldeſt was beheaded.

The

THE Queen was deliver'd this Year of a Prince, to whom the King gave the Name of *Arthur*, in memory of the famous *Arthur* King of the antient *Britons*. *Henry* being of the *Welch* or *Britiſh* Race, gave himſelf out to be a Deſcendant from the antient Kings of the *Welch*, and in all probability when he gave the Name of *Arthur* to the new-born Prince, he aim'd to have it underſtood, that he deriv'd his Origin from that antient *Britiſh* Monarch. *A.* 1486. *The Qu's Delivery of a Pr. who is nam'd Arthur.*

MEAN time the People ſeem'd very uneaſy that the King did not talk of crowning the Queen, even after ſhe had brought him an Heir. On the other hand, they look'd upon the Confinement of the Earl of *Warwick*, who had been guilty of no Crime, as a very great Injuſtice. At the ſame time a Report was rais'd, that the King had a mind to make away with this Prince, who was an Eyeſore to him; and while the People were in this ſort of Ferment, the King's Enemies thought it their beſt way to improve it. They began by ſpreading a Rumour that the Earl of *Warwick* had made his Eſcape out of the Tower; and afterwards, a certain Prieſt who had the Education of a Boy nam'd *Lambert Simnel*, the Son of a Baker, undertook to make him paſs for the Earl of *Warwick*, and carry'd him firſt of all into *Ireland*, where the Earl of *Kildare*, who was then Governor, own'd him in that Quality, and caus'd him to be proclaim'd King of *England* in *Dublin*, by conſent of the Council of State and the Magiſtrates of the City. The Readineſs with which the *Iriſh* had own'd the Impoſtor for Earl of *Warwick*, convinc'd the King that the Prieſt was not the firſt nor the principal Author of the Impoſture. He made no queſtion but the Queen Dowager his Mother- *Story of Simnel the Impoſtor.*

H. VII. Mother-in-law had a great Hand in it, and whether he had any Proof of it, or only a Suſpicion, he confiſcated her Eſtate, and confin'd her to a Monaſtery, where ſhe ended her Days.

Proceſſion made in London *to ſhew the E. of* Warw. *to the People.*

Mean time, in order to undeceive the People, he caus'd a Proceſſion to be made thro' the high Streets of *London*, at which he brought out the Earl of *Warwick*, to be preſent that every body might ſee him.

E. of Lincoln *goes to* Fland. *and returns with a Supply for* Simnel.

Not long after this the King had an Opportunity to be confirm'd in his Suſpicion, that the Prieſt and the ſham Earl of *Warwick* were but Tools, which the *York* Family made uſe of in hopes to dethrone him. The Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *Elizabeth* the Counteſs of *Suffolk*, and Siſter to *Edward* IV. went ſecretly out of *England* to *Flanders*, to meet his Aunt the Ducheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*, who furniſh'd him with Money and 2000 *German* Soldiers to ſupport the Cauſe of the Sham Earl of *Warwick*. With this Supply the Earl of *Lincoln* ſail'd to *Ireland*, where *Simnel* had already rais'd an Army. Without entring into too particular a Narrative of this Affair, 'tis ſufficient to obſerve, that *Simnel* was crown'd at *Dublin* *. After which he paſs'd over to *England* with his Army, and put the King under a Neceſſity of expoſing his Crown to the Risk of a Battle, which however he won, and the Earl of *Lincoln* therein loſt his Life; *Simnel* being taken Priſoner obtain'd his Pardon, and was honour'd with the Poſt of Scullion in

Battle of Stoke. Simnel *taken Priſoner, and made a Turnſpit in the King's Kitchen.*

* Sir *James Ware* in his Appendix *ad Diſquiſ. de Hibernia*, ſays he was crown'd with a Crown taken from a Statue of the Virgin *Mary* in one of the Churches, that the Biſhop of *Meath* actually preach'd his Coronation Sermon, and that the Lord Deputy, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Lovel*, and many other Perſons of Quality were preſent to countenance the Ceremony.

the

the King's Kitchen. The Battle I am ſpeaking of was fought near *Stoke*, *June* the 6th 1487. *A.* 1488

THE King at his Return from the Campaign, being ſenſible what a Number of Male-contents there was in the Kingdom, reſolv'd at length to have his Queen crown'd. *The Queen crown'd.*

IN 1488 there was a Riſing alſo in the North, which oblig'd the King to ſend an Army thither under the Command of the Earl of *Surry*, who beat the Rebels and diſperſed them. *Another Inſurrection in the North ſuppreſs'd.*

WHILE the King was taken up with an important Affair relating to the Duchy of *Bretagne*, of which I ſhall treat in the ſecond Article, a Conſpiracy was form'd againſt him which prov'd afterwards very troubleſome to him. The Ducheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*, Siſter to *Edward* IV. having brought up a Youth nam'd *Perkin Warbeck*, * who tho the Son of a converted Jew at *Tournay*, was born in *England*, and talk'd the *Engliſh* Language very well; ſhe undertook to make him paſs for the young Duke of *York*, whom King *Richard* had put to Death in the *Tower*, at the ſame time with *Edward* V. his Brother. *A Conſpiracy againſt the King.* Perkin Warbeck, *another Impoſtor.*

AFTER having ſufficiently tutor'd this Stripling to act his Part, ſhe ſent him to *Portugal* where he ſtay'd about a Year. And when the time came that *Henry* was juſt entring into War with *France*, *Perkin* had Orders to ſail to *Ireland*, where the Ducheſs had ſecur'd him ſome Friends, and ſettled a Correſpondence for him. *His Voyage to* Portugal, *and from thence to* Ireland.

* THE Lord *Verulam* in his Hiſtory of this Reign, ſays, his true Name was *Peter Oſbecke*; that King *Edward* IV. was his Godfather; and that being a dainty effeminate Youth he was commonly call'd *Peterkin*, or by the diminutive word *Perkin*; and that even after his true Name was known, he had been ſo much talk'd of by that of *Warbeck*, that it ſtuck by him to the laſt.

H. VII. When he was arriv'd in *Ireland*, he wrote to ſeveral Lords to come and join him. During this, *Charles* VIII. King of *France* hearing that the young Man was in *Ireland*, offer'd him his Protection, and ſent for him to his Court, where he own'd him for Duke of *York*. But ſome time after, which was in 1492, as he was on the point of making a Peace with *Henry*, he turn'd off the ſham Prince, who retir'd to the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* in *Flanders*, who after having made as if ſhe ſuſpected, and wou'd puniſh him for an Impoſtor, confeſs'd the Proofs he brought of his pretended Title to be as clear as the Sun, and own'd him for her Nephew.

From thence to France.

And Flanders.

Ducheſs of Burgundy's *Diſſimulation.*

All this while the Friends of the Houſe of *York* were acting in *England* to make a Party for the pretended Duke. And ſome of them actually went over to *Flanders* in 1493, to offer him their Services. Of this Number was *Clifford* who appear'd at firſt very zealous for him, but took a Bribe from the King to whom he diſcover'd all the Perſons with whom the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* correſponded in *England*, which coſt the Lives of ſome of them, and particularly Sir *William Stanley*, the High Chamberlain, who had done the King conſiderable Service in the Battle of *Boſworth*.

Clifford *betrays* Perkin's *Party.*

In fine, after *Perkin* had ſtay'd two Years or thereabouts with the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, ſhe furniſh'd him with Men and Shipping in 1495, to go and make a Deſcent upon the *Kentiſh* Coaſt, in which Enterpriſe he had but ill Succeſs; for the Troops he had ſent aſhore were put to the Sword, and as for *Perkin* himſelf, who ſtay'd aboard his Veſſel, he return'd to *Flanders*.

Perkin's *miſcarriage in a Deſcent upon* England.

Not

NOT long after the Ducheſs ſent him into *Scotland*, where King *James* IV. own'd him for Duke of *York*, and in 1496 gave him one of his Kinſwomen in Marriage: And more than all this, the very next Year King *James* march'd at the Head of an Army into *England* to favour the Intereſts of *Perkin* who accompany'd him; but finding at the Years end that the *Engliſh* did not come to his Standard as he imagin'd they wou'd, he ſent back the Impoſtor to *Ireland*, and concluded a Truce with *Henry*. *A.* 1496. *He goes to* Scotland *and is ſupported by* K. James. *But turn'd off and ſent to* Ireland.

IN 1496, while the King of *Scotland* was ravaging the Frontiers of *England*, there was a terrible Inſurrection againſt *Henry* in the County of *Cornwal*. The Rebels having form'd a very numerous Army, with the Lord *Audley* at their Head, march'd directly to *London* with a deſign to give the King Battle. 'Tis eaſy to gueſs what they wou'd have done if they had gain'd the Victory. But *Henry* who waited for them upon *Blackheath* near *London*, gave them ſuch a warm Reception that he put them entirely to the Rout. *Inſurrection in* Cornwal. *Rebels march to* London *and are ſuppreſs'd.*

YET for all this, the Populace roſe again the Year following, and the Ringleaders of the Inſurrection hearing that the pretended Duke of *York* was in *Ireland*, invited him to come over and head them. He accepted of the Invitation, and repairing to that Country there took the Title of King, by the Name of *Richard* IV; after which he went and laid Seige to *Exeter*. But the King having ſent ſome Troops that way, and preparing to go thither himſelf with a numerous Army, *Perkin Warbeck* was ſeiz'd with a Pannic, left his Troops and retir'd to a Sanctuary, which he voluntarily quitted nevertheleſs, upon the Promiſe made to him by the King to *But riſe again in* Cornwal *and ſend for the D. of* York *who joins them, but fearing* Henry's *approach, flies to a Sanctuary, and is committed to the* Tower.

H. VII. save his Life; and he was committed to the *Tower* of *London*.

And at last hang'd for a Design to escape.

In 1499, having found means to corrupt some of the Domesticks belonging to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, he agreed to make his escape with them, and the Earl of *Warwick* was unhappily persuaded to enter into the Design; but being discover'd, the King took that opportunity to hang up *Perkin Warbeck*, and to cut off the Head of the Earl of *Warwick*, which was done in 1500. It was hardly doubted but the King laid this Trap for them, on purpose that he might have a fair opportunity to put them both to Death.

Prince of Wales's Marriage and Death.

ARTHUR Prince of *Wales* marry'd *Catherine* of *Arragon* Daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* King and Queen of *Spain* in 1501, but dy'd in 1502. *Henry* his younger Brother was declar'd Prince of *Wales*, after it was clear that the Princess Dowager was not with Child; for no body then doubted that *Arthur*'s Marriage with *Catherine* had been consummated.

Death of K. Henry's Queen.

In 1503, Queen *Elizabeth* Wife to King *Henry* died.

His Avarice, and his Tools to gratify it.

The King finding nothing to ruffle him either at Home or Abroad, gave himself up without measure to the Passion of heaping up of Wealth, which was what he set his whole Heart upon. For this end he employ'd *Empson* and *Dudley* the Tools of his Avarice who committed Acts of Injustice and Violence without Number. This render'd the King so odious to his Subjects, that the Earl of *Suffolk* fancy'd, that as they then stood affected, he had a fair opportunity to rob him of his Crown. This Earl was Brother to the Earl of *Lincoln* who was kill'd at the Battle of *Stoke*. After having imparted his Design to some of his Friends, he

The E. of Suffolk forms a Conspiracy against him.

went to his Aunt the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, to adviſe with her about the putting of it in Execution. But *Henry* made uſe of the ſame means to break his Meaſures that he had employ'd againſt *Perkin Warbeck*. For he ſent Perſons to him, who on pretence of a Deſire to engage in the Conſpiracy divulg'd his Secrets to the King, by which means ſeveral of the Earl's Accomplices loſt their Lives. *A.* 1506. *And is betray'd.*

THIS ſame Year a Marriage was concluded betwixt *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, and *Catherine* of *Arragon*, the Widow of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; for which extraordinary Match a Diſpenſation was granted by Pope *Julius* II. who pleaded the neceſſity of it for preſerving the Peace and Union betwixt the two Kings their Fathers. But the true Reaſon was that *Henry* and *Ferdinand* who knew how matters ſtood with each other very well, were equally at a Loſs, the one to get back the hundred thouſand Crowns which he had already paid towards *Catherine*'s Portion for her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, and the other how to find out a way to evade the making of ſuch Reſtitution, or the putting of *Catherine* in poſſeſſion of her Jointure: So that this ſecond Marriage ſuited the Conveniencies of both alike; yet it was not conſummated till after *Henry* VII's Death. *Prince of* Wales's *Marriage, and the Pope's Diſpenſation for it.*

IN 1504, *Henry* intended to have King *Henry* VI. cannoniz'd, but 'tis ſaid that the exceſſive Sum which the Court of *Rome* demanded for the Ceremony, made him alter his mind; and therefore he contented himſelf with removing that Prince's Bones which lay at *Windſor*, to thoſe of his Anceſtors at *Weſtminſter*. Hen. VII. *propoſes to have* Hen. VI. *canoniz'd.*

IN 1506, *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtria* and King of *Caſtile*, going to *Spain* with his Queen *Joan*, was forc'd by a Tempeſt into the Harbour

H. VII. of *Weymouth*. While he ſtay'd in *England*, which was about four Months, *Henry* with ſome Difficulty prevail'd on him to deliver up the Earl of *Suffolk* to him, who was ſtill in *Flanders*, on condition that he wou'd ſpare his Life. When this Nobleman was return'd to *England* he was clapp'd up in the *Tower*. *Henry* and *Philip* concluded three conſiderable Treaties together. The firſt was a Treaty of Friendſhip, Alliance and Confederacy between the two Princes. The ſecond a Treaty of Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*; and the third a Marriage Treaty betwixt *Henry* and *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, who was *Philip*'s Siſter and the Duke of *Savoy*'s Dowager, but it came to no Effect.

E. of Suffolk *deliver'd up to the King.*

Committed to the Tower.

Henry's *Treaties with* Philip *of* Spain.

PHILIP dying in *Spain*, the Emperor *Maximilian* undertook the Guardianſhip of *Charles*'s Grandſon, who was afterwards Emperor by the Name of *Charles* V. and gave the Government of the *Netherlands* to his Daughter *Margaret*.

Philip's *Death.*

In *December* 1707, a Treaty was concluded at *Calais* for the Marriage of *Charles* the Archduke and Prince of *Spain*, who was about ſeven Years of Age, with *Mary* the ſecond Daughter of *Henry*, which Marriage was celebrated by Proxy in *December* 1508.

Marriage of Henry's *2d Daughter to the Archduke.*

HENRY VII. dy'd the 22*d* of *April* 1509, leaving 1800000 *l. Sterling* in his Coffers; which was a prodigious Sum in thoſe Days, when Money was by much ſcarcer than it is at preſent.

Henry's *Death.*

The moſt remarkable Pieces in this and the thirteenth Volume of the publick Acts, with reſpect to the Domeſtick Affairs of *Henry* VII's Reign are as follow.

1. A Bull of *Innocent* VIII. for the Diſpenſation of the King's Marriage with *Eliza-*

Diſpenſation for the King's Marriage.

beth; dated the 6th of the Nones of *March* 1486 at *Rome*. A. 1486.

THIS was the ſecond Diſpenſation, for we don't find that granted by the Biſhop of *Imola*, in Mr. *Rymer*'s Collection; the Date of it is poſterior to the Marriage. In the firſt place the Pope mentions the Prayer of the Petition which was preſented to him on the part of *Henry* and *Elizabeth*, and the motives of it, *viz.* That there had been long Wars between the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York* in which a great deal of Blood had been ſpilt, and finally that they thought their Marriage neceſſary in order to put an end to the Diviſions in the Kingdom. And ſays the Pope, *Quod Tu tandem, Henrice Rex, poſt hujuſmodi clades, & longum ob præfatas Diſſentiones Tui exilium, Dei adjutorio atque clementia, ad Regnum præfatum, Jure Hæreditario ad Te legitimum in illo Predeceſſorum tuorum Succeſſorem pertinens, reſtitutus, & in Regem coronatus, ac à Concilio, ſive Conventu generali dicti Regni, Parliamentum nuncupato, nemine contradicente, pro eorum vero, legitimo & indubitato Rege, receptus, habitus, tentus & reputatus fuiſti, prout ab univerſis Prælatis, Proceribus, Magnatibus & populis dictus haberis, teneris, & reputaris de præſenti*, &c.

i. e. 'And becauſe you, King *Henry*, after 'ſuch Bloodſhed, and your tedious Exile by 'reaſon of the Diviſions aforeſaid, are at 'length thro' the Divine Mercy and Aſſiſtance 'reſtored to the ſaid Kingdom, appertaining 'by Hereditary Right to you the lawful Suc-'ceſſor of the Kings thereof your Predeceſſors, 'and are not only crown'd King, but have 'been receiv'd held and reputed *Nemine Contradicente* by the General Council or Convention 'of the Kingdom call'd a Parliament, for their

H. VII. 'true, lawful, and undoubted King, as you 'are from henceforth held and eſteemed by all 'the Prelates, Lords Temporal, and Commons 'aforeſaid.'

'Tis evident from hence, that *Henry* did not intend to make his Queen a Sharer of his Royalty, becauſe he declar'd himſelf ſole Succeſſor by hereditary Right, without making any mention of the Title of *Elizabeth*.

The Pope's Bull for ſettling the Succeſſion.

2. The Bull of *Innocent* VIII. which approves and confirms the Act of Parliament made for ſecuring the Crown to *Henry* VII. and his Poſterity. Dated the 6th of the Calends of *April* 1486. at *Rome*.

After the Pope has mention'd the Diſpenſation granted for *Henry*'s Marriage with *Elizabeth*, and the Motives of it, he proceeds thus,

QUARUM quidem literarum noſtrarum, & aliarum prædictarum Diſpenſationum Tenores, præſentibus, ac ſi de verbo ad verbum inſererentur, habere volumus pro expreſſis, legitimamq; Liberorum Succeſſionem, ac etiam Pronunciationem, & Decretum Parliamenti, tam ſuper Titulo ipſius Henrici Regis, quam ſuper Succeſſione Liberorum ac Hæredum ſuorum, necnon alia Præmiſſa Auctoritate Apoſtolica, Tenore Præſentium confirmamus & approbamus—— Monemuſque & requirimus Motu, Scientiâ & Auctoritate prædictis, omnes & ſingulos dicti Regni Incolas, & ejuſdem Regis Henrici ſubditos cujuſcunque gradus, ſive—— & cuilibet eorum diſtricte præcipiendo inhibemus ne ipſi novos tumultus, occaſione Juris ſuccedendi, movere ſeu moveri faciant —— ſub Excommunicationis & Majoris Anathematis pœnâ. ——Omnes, hujuſmodi tumultus excitantes aut Prædictis contravenientes, ex nunc prout ex tunc, & ex tunc prout ex nunc, eo ipſo incurrant, & illius vinculo innodatos ipſo facto volumus, ſtatuimus, &c.

ET

ET (ſi quod Deus avertat) contingat ipſam Elizabetham, Prole ex ipſo Henrico non ſuſcepta, vel ſuſcepta, non tamen tunc ſuperſtite, decedere ante ipſum Regem, eo caſu, Prolem ex ipſo Rege Henrico, & alia quacunque Uxore ab eo ſemper ducenda, in omni Jure Hæreditario Regni hujuſmodi, juxta antedictum ipſius Parliamenti Decretum, & hujuſmodi noſtram ipſius Approbationem, ſuper hujuſmodi Decreto, & aliis prædictis, ut præmittitur, factam, ſuccedere debere, ſimilibus motu, ſcientia & auctoritate etiam decernimus & declaramus. A. 1484.

i. e. THE Tenor of which our Letters and other Diſpenſations aforeſaid, we require to be as expreſsly obſerv'd as if they were inſerted word for word in theſe Preſents; and by our Apoſtolical Authority we do by the Tenor of theſe Preſents approve and confirm the legal Succeſſion of the Children, as alſo the Sentence and Decree of Parliament, as well concerning the Title of the ſaid King *Henry*, as concerning the Succeſſion of his Children and Heirs, together with the other Premiſes.——And from our own Motion, certain Knowledge and Authority aforeſaid, we admoniſh and require all and ſingular the Inhabitants of the ſaid Kingdom and the Subjects of the ſaid King *Henry*, of what degree ſoever—and ſtrictly injoyn every one of them not to raiſe or cauſe any new Tumults to be rais'd on account of ſuch Right of Succeſſion——under the Pain of Excommunication, and the greater Curſe ——which all Perſons exciting ſuch Tumults, or contravening the Premiſes, will by ſo doing incur both now and hereafter, and we do *ipſo facto* enjoin and pronounce them bound in the Bond thereof.

And if (which God forbid) it ſhould ſo happen, that *Elizabeth* ſhould depart this Life before

H. VII. fore the King, without Iſſue by the ſaid *Henry*, or without ſuch Iſſue then ſurviving; in that caſe, we do alſo from our own Motion, Knowledge and Authority as aforeſaid, decree and declare, that the Iſſue of the ſaid King *Henry* by any other Wife whatſoever whom he ſhall marry, ought to ſucceed in and by all the hereditary Right of the Kingdom, according to the aforeſaid Decree of the ſaid Parliament, and to ſuch our Approbation of the ſaid Decree, and of the other Premiſes.

AFTER this we find ſeveral Cenſures againſt the Contraveners; Indulgences for ſuch as ſhall aſſiſt *Henry* and his Deſcendants; and poſitive Orders to the Clergy to publiſh the Excommunication contain'd in the Bull, upon Sundays and Holidays, as ſoon as ever requir'd.

Remarks on the Bull.

I KNOW not how 'tis poſſible to reconcile this Bull with the Liberties of the People of *England*. There was a great Clamour formerly in the Reign of *Henry* III. becauſe that Prince had got himſelf abſolv'd by the Pope, from an Oath which he had taken with relation to the Affairs of the Kingdom. And one of the Articles of Impeachment againſt *Richard* II. was for his getting the Pope to confirm the Acts of the Parliament of *Shrewsbury*. 'Tis true, that in this Bull the Pope ſaid he acted *motu proprio* of his own Motion. But 'tis ſcarce credible that he ſhould take upon himſelf to confirm an Act of Parliament which had no relation to the Church or Religion, if he had not been put upon it by the King. Be it which way it will, this may be ſaid to be one of the greateſt Blows that ever was given to the Liberties of *England*.

3. A BULL of Diſpenſation for the King's Marriage, containing a formal Approbation of the Diſpenſation granted by the Biſhop of *Imola*, which is the third Diſpenſation, and dated the 10th of the Calends of *Auguſt* 1486. at *Rome*. *A.* 1490. *The third Diſpenſation of the King's Marriage* 313.

4. THE King's Order for reſtoring the Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* to *John Moreton*, dated *Decemb.* 6. 1486. at *Weſtminſter*. *Temporalities of the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *reſtor'd.* 317.

THIS was that *John Moreton* Biſhop of *Ely*, to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* imparted his Deſign of calling over the Earl of *Richmond* to place him upon the Throne. This Prelate was afterwards made a Cardinal, and as long as he liv'd, was *Henry* VII's. chief Miniſter. *Character of* John Moreton *the Biſhop of* Ely.

5. A BULL commiſſioning certain Biſhops to draw up Informations againſt the Archiſhops of *Armagh* and *Dublin*, and the other Prelates who had aſſiſted in the Coronation of *Lambert Simnel*, dated at *Rome*, the Nones of *January* 1488. *Informations order'd againſt the Biſhops who had crown'd* Simnel. 332.

6. ANOTHER, declaring the *Iriſh* to be included in the Bull of *April* 1486. which excommunicates thoſe who ſhall rebel againſt the King. Dated at *Rome* the 16th of the Calends of *June* 1488. *The* Iriſh *included in the Bull againſt the Rebels.* 341.

'TIS ſet forth in this Bull, that the King had repreſented to the Pope, that perhaps his *Iriſh* Subjects might pretend they were not compris'd in the Excommunication fulminated by the Bull of *April* 1486. From whence it may be inferr'd that *Henry* had deſir'd the former Bull, or at leaſt that he propos'd to put it in execution.

7. THE Ratification of a Treaty concluded the 27th of *March* 1489. with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*. Dated *Sept.* 23. 1490. at the Royal Manor of *Oking*. *Treaty with the K. and Q. of* Spain. 417.

THIS

H. VII. THIS Treaty contain'd, 1. A Peace and Alliance between *Ferdinand*, *Iſabel*, and Prince *John* their Son on the one Part, and *Henry* and his Son *Arthur* on the other, and their Heirs and Succeſſors lawfully deſcended from their Bodies. 2. A Promiſe to aſſiſt one another upon all Occaſions. 3. A League againſt *Charles* VIII. of which we ſhall take notice under the next general Head. 4. Conventions touching the Marriage of Pr. *Arthur* with *Catherine*, the 4th Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, when the Parties come of Age. *Catherine*'s Portion was 200000 Crowns of Gold, each Crown fix'd at 4 *s.* 2 *d. Sterling*, payable one half at *Catherine*'s Arrival in *England*, the other in two Years after. The Jointure ſettled on her, was a third part of the Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*, of the Duchy of *Cornwal*, and of the Earldom of *Cheſter*, amounting to 25000, or at leaſt to 23000 Crowns of Gold.

Prince Arthur's Marriage-Settlement on Catharine, and her Portion.

From the making of this Treaty to the Conſummation of the Marriage, there was ſcarce a Year in which we don't meet with certain Explanations or new Conventions upon this Subject; which for fear of being too tedious, I ſhall not mention.

Pope's Bull for limiting the Privileges of Sanctuaries. 541. 8. THE Bull of *Innocent* VIII. for limiting the Privileges of Sanctuaries, dated the 3d of the Nones of *July* 1493. at *Rome*.

THE Pope's Condeſcention in this Article, was extended ſo far as to give leave,

That Thieves, Murderers, Highway-men, thoſe who deſtroy the Country in the Night, *if they go out of their Sanctuaries to commit any Miſchief, and return again*, might be taken out.

THAT as to others, their Retreat into Sanctuaries ſhould not be prejudicial to their Creditors,

tors, *if they enter therein on purpoſe to defraud them.* A. 1501.

THAT if Perſons ſuſpected of High-Treaſon be found in the Sanctuaries, *the King might, after their being convicted of it, ſend Guards to hinder them from going out.*

9. A PATENT for impowering *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, and his Son *Sebaſtian* and *Santo*, to go with the *Engliſh* Flag in queſt of new Countries at their own Charge, and to take Poſſeſſion thereof in the King's Name, on Condition of giving the King a fifth of the Profit, dated *March* 5. 1496. at *Weſtminſter*. *Licence to* Sebaſtian Cabot, *to make new Diſcoveries and Settlements for the King.* 595.

10. A COMMISSION to treat in the King's Name for the Pardon of the Adherents of *Perkin Warbeck*, and *Michael* the Farrier, and to proſecute ſuch as refuſed to ſubmit themſelves; dated *Sept.* 13. 1498. at *Maidſtone*. Henry's *Pecuniary Compoſition with the Rebels.* 696.

THERE are ſeveral other Acts of the ſame Nature, which ſhew how greedy *Henry* was of Money.

11. A BULL of *Alexander* VI. for transferring the ſpiritual Juriſdiction of the Iſles of *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, &c. from the Biſhop of *Coutance*, to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; dated the 13th of the Calends of *February* 1500, at *Rome*. *The Juriſdiction of* Jerſey, *&c. transferr'd to the See of* Winch. 740.

12. A PUBLICK Inſtrument for the Marriage of *Arthur* with *Catherine*, by a Proxy for *Catherine*, and by *Arthur* in Perſon; dated *May* 19. 1499. and ratify'd *May* 28. 1500. at *Calais*.

13. A COMMISSION to call to Account the Adherents of *Perkin Warbeck*, to compound with them and with the Heirs of thoſe that are dead; dated *Aug.* 6. 1500. at *Weſtminſter*. *Commiſſ. to call* Warbeck's *Adherents to an Account* 766.

14. A CONGE *d' elire* for the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, vacant by the Death of Cardinal *Moreton*; dated *Jan.* 9. 1501. at *Woodſtock*. *Conge d' elire for the See of* Canterbury 771.

15. THE

H. VII. 15. THE Settlement made by *Arthur* upon *Catherine* on the Day of Marriage; dated in *November* 1501.

Diſpenſation to Wolſey for Livings. 783. 16. A DISPENSATION to *Thomas Wolſey*, Rector of *Lymington*, to hold ſuch Benefices as were incompatible; dated the 3d of the Nones of *November* 1501. at *Rome*.

THE moſt remarkable Acts relating to Domeſtick Affairs in the 13th Vol. of the *Fœdera*, are theſe.

Prince of Wales made Warden of the Foreſt of Gaultres. 11. 1. A Patent appointing *Henry* Prince of *Wales* Warden of the Foreſt of *Gaultres* in the County of *York*; dated *June* 22. 1502. at *Weſtminſter*.

Prince *Arthur* died the 2d of *April* in this ſame Year, and in this Act his Brother *Henry* is ſtyl'd Prince of *Wales*. This ſhews that the King did not ſtay till 1503, before he gave *Henry* the Title of Prince of *Wales*, as Lord *Bacon* ſays in his Hiſtory of *Henry* VII. tho 'tis poſſible he did not ſolemnly inveſt him with it till 1503.

Patent for the Diſcovery of new Countries. 37. 2. A PATENT impowering *Hugh Elyot* and *Thomas Aſhehurſt*, Merchants of *Briſtol*, together with *John Gonſalez* and *Francis Fernandes*, both *Portugueſe*, to go on the Diſcovery of new Countries; dated at *Weſtminſter Dec.* 9. 1502.

Pr. Henry's Marriage Treaty with Catherine. 76. 3. A TREATY betwixt *Henry*, and *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, for the Marriage of *Henry* Prince of *Wales* with *Catherine* of *Arragon*; dated *June* 23. 1503. at *Richmond*.

THIS Treaty is in a proper Senſe the Copy of the Treaty that was made for *Arthur*'s Marriage to the ſame Princeſs, only with this Difference, that King *Henry* own'd in this Treaty the Receipt of 100000 Crowns of Gold, the half of *Catherine*'s Portion, which was the hundred thouſand

ſand Crowns that *Ferdinand* had paid him for the former Marriage. *A.* 1484.

4. A BRIEF or Letter from Pope *Julius* II. to the Archbiſhop of *York*, to acquaint him of his Exaltation to the Pontifical Throne, which was the 1ſt of *November* 1503. The Letter is dated the 6th of the Calends of *December* at *Rome*. * *Election of Pope* Julius II. 88.

TIS neceſſary to know the exact time of *Julius* II's Exaltation to St. *Peter*'s Chair, becauſe of a certain ſuppoſititious Letter which the *Germans* produc'd in the Affair of the Divorce of *Henry* VIII.

5. A BULL of *Julius* II. whereby he grants a Diſpenſation for the Marriage of Prince *Henry* with *Catherine*; dated the 7th of the Calends of *January* 1503. at *Rome*. *His Diſpenſation of Prince* Henry's *Marriage with* Catherine. 89.

* HE took the Name of *Julius* from his Inclination to War; for he not only excommunicated all that oppos'd him, but as he marched once over a Bridge on the *Tiber*, he threw St. *Peter*'s Keys into it, and call'd for St. *Paul*'s Sword. He commanded his Army in Perſon againſt the *French*, and intended to have given their King's Title of *Moſt Chriſtian* to *Henry* VIII. *Monſtrelet* the *French* Hiſtorian thus deſcribes him. 'He 'left the Chair of St. *Peter*, 'and took upon him the 'Title of *Mars* the God of 'War, diſplaying his Triple 'Crown in the Field, and 'ſpending his Nights in the 'Watch. What a goodly 'ſight was it to ſee the 'Mitres, Croſſes and Cro-'ſier-ſtaves flying up and 'down the Field? Sure no 'Devils could be there where 'Benedictions were ſold ſo 'cheap!' In a word, his Reign was ſo imperious and barbarous, that the Cardinals were upon the Point of binding his Succeſſor to his good Behaviour, and preſcribing certain Rules for Infallibility to act by. The greateſt Eulogy that *Onuphrius* himſelf, who continued *Platina*'s Lives of the Popes, has beſtow'd upon him is, that he was *Bellicâ Gloriâ, pluſquam Pontificem deceret, Clarus:* More famous for Military Glory than became a Pope.

THIS

H. VII. THIS is that famous Bull, the Validity of which was ſo much diſputed in the Affair of the Divorce of *Henry* VIII.

Julius, *&c.*

OBLATA Nobis nuper, pro Parte veſtra, Petitionis ſeries continebat, quod, cum alias, Tu Filia Catherina, & tunc in Humanis agens quondam Arthurus——Matrimonium per Verba legitime de Præſenti contraxiſſetis, illudque carnali copula forſan conſummaviſſetis, dictus Arthurus, Prole ex hujuſmodi Matrimonio non ſuſcepta, deceſſit,

CUM autem, ſicut eadem Petitio ſubjungebat, ad hoc ut hujuſmodi vinculum Pacis & Amicitiæ inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præſenti contrahere, ſupplicari Nobis feciſtis, ut Vobis in Præmiſſis de opportunæ Diſpenſationis Gratia providere, de Benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur.

NOS igitur, qui inter ſingulos Chriſti Fideles, præſertim Catholicos Reges, & Principes, Pacis & Concordiæ amænitatem vigere, intenſis deſideriis affectamus, Voſque & quemlibet Veſtrum a quibuſcunque Excommunicationis, Suſpenſionis & Interdicti, aliiſque Eccleſiaſticis Sententiis, Cenſuris, & Pœnis a Jure vel ab Homine, quavis occaſione vel cauſa latis, ſi quibus quomodolibet innodati exiſtitis, ad effectum Præſentium duntaxat conſequendum, harum ſerie Abſolventes & Abſolutos fore cenſentes, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, Vobiſcum, ut impedimento Affinitatis hujuſmodi ex Præmiſſis proveniente, ac Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, cæteriſque contrariis, nequaquam obſtantibus, matrimonium per Verba legitime, de Præſenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo poſtquam contractum fuerit, etiam ſi jam forſan hactenus, de facto, publice

publicè vel clandestinè contraxeritis, ac illud carnali copula consummaveritis, licitè remanere valeatis, Auctoritate Apostolica, Tenore Præsentium, de Specialis Dono gratiæ Dispensamus, *ac vos & quemlibet vestrum, si contraxeritis, ut præfertur, ab excessu hujusmodi, ac Excommunicationis Sententiâ quam propterea incurristis, eadem auctoritate absolvimus,* A.1503.

PROLEM ex hujusmodi Matrimonio, sive contracto, sive contrahendo, susceptam forsan vel suscipiendam, legitimam decernendo, proviso quod Tu, Filia Catherina, propter hoc rapta non fueris.

VOLUMUS autem quod, si hujusmodi Matrimonium de Facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam salutarem propterea vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini.

NULLI ergo Hominum liceat, &c.

i. e. The Tenor of the Petition lately presented to us in your behalfs bears, that whereas heretofore you (Daughter *Catherine*) and *Arthur*, then living, lawfully contracted Matrimony in the words *de præsenti*, (or from this time forward) and perhaps consummated it by carnal Copulation, and the said *Arthur* died without Issue by the said Marriage.

And seeing that, as 'tis subjoin'd in the Petition, ye desire to be lawfully marry'd in the words *de præsenti*, for the sake of continuing the Bond of Peace and Friendship between the King of *England* and the King and Queen of *Spain*; in order to which ye have caus'd Supplication to be made to us, that we would of our Apostolical Grace and Favour vouchsafe to grant you a proper Dispensation, on account of the Premises.

H. VII. WE therefore, who earneſtly wiſh to ſee the Charms of Peace and Concord flouriſh among all Believers in Chriſt, but eſpecially the Catholick Kings and Princes, being inclin'd to grant your Petition, abſolve you and each of you from all Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Interdict, and other Eccleſiaſtical Sentences, Cenſures and Penalties whatſoever, whether by Law or Man, or for what cauſe ſoever inflicted upon you, or that in the Caſe before mention'd may be by Suit yet depending; and out of our mere ſpecial Grace and Favour, by the Tenor of theſe Preſents, we do diſpenſe with you, ſo that any Impediment thro' the foreſaid Affinity between you, any Apoſtolical Conſtitutions or Ordinances, *&c.* to the contrary notwithſtanding, you may lawfully contract Marriage together *per verba de præſenti:* and when it is ſo contracted, altho it ſhould have been already either publickly or privately contracted, and *perhaps* conſummated by carnal Copulation, that you may lawfully remain in that State; and by the ſame Authority we abſolve you and each of you, if ye have contracted Marriage as aforeſaid, from the Sentence of Excommunication which ye have thereby incurr'd; and we do further pronounce all the Children legitimate, either already or yet to be born from the ſaid Marriage, either now or hereafter to be contracted.

PROVIDED that you (Daughter *Catherine*) did not ſuffer a Rape;

AND we require, if ye have actually contracted ſuch Marriage, a Confeſſor to be choſe by you, or either of you, enjoin you ſome healthful Penance for ſo doing, which ye are hereby bound to perform.

LET no Man therefore, *&c.*

IF *Arthur*'s Marriage with *Catherine* had not been conſummated, as *Catherine* afterwards affirm'd, 'tis ſurprizing that *Julius* II. ſhould not be acquainted with ſo favourable a Circumſtance, which would have been a better Plea for the Diſpenſation, than the pretended Neceſſity of maintaining the Peace between *England* and *Spain*. *A.* 1504.

6. A BULL for permitting the Tranſlation of the Body of King *Henry* VI. from *Windſor* to *Weſtminſter*, dated the 13th of the Calends of *June*, 1504, at *Rome*. H. VI's *Corpſe remov'd to* Weſtm. 103.

THE Petition which was preſented for obtaining this Bull, ſets forth, that *Henry* VI. *ut aliqui ferunt*, as ſome ſay, had deſir'd to be interr'd at *Weſtminſter*; that nevertheleſs in order to extinguiſh the Memory of him, *ut veriſimiliter creditur*, as is credibly believ'd, he was bury'd in a ſecret Place of the Monaſtery of *Chertſey* *; but that ſeveral Miracles being wrought there *Remarks on it.*

* THIS, in Mr. *Rapin's* Hiſtory of *England*, is by miſtake call'd *Chelſey*, near *London*. Our Author fell in with the general Opinion, that *Henry* VII. who had ſollicited the Canonization of *Henry* VI. deſiſted from it, only becauſe of the Coſt that would attend it, the Pope having alledg'd that the ordinary Fees of that Honour (the greateſt upon Earth) would amount to 1500 Ducats of Gold, which were to be *increaſed according to the Dignity of the Perſon canonized*. But the Lord *Verulam*, that incomparable Hiſtorian, who, ſays Dr. *Nicholſon*, has put himſelf into King *Henry*'s own Garb and Livery in the Account he wrote of his Reign, and gives as ſprightly a View of the Secrets of his Council, as if he had been Preſident of it, thinks it more probable that Pope *Julius* (who was extremely jealous of the Dignity and Acts of the See of *Rome*) put him off with Delays, becauſe *H.* VI. being univerſally reckon'd a *ſimple Man*, the Pope was afraid it would leſſen the Eſteem of that kind of Honour, if there were not ſome Diſtance kept between *Innocents* and *Saints*.

H. VII. by the ſaid *Henry*'s Interceſſion, *ut piè creditur*, as is *piouſly* believ'd, and the People flocking to his Tomb in Multitudes, his Enemies and thoſe who envy'd him caus'd him to be remov'd to *Windſor*, *&c.*

Pope's Bull about Sanctuaries. 104.

7. A BULL of *Julius* II. which orders Perſons who are ſuſpected of High Treaſon, and fly for Refuge to Sanctuaries, to be taken out and deliver'd up to Juſtice, *tho they have not been convicted before*; dated as above.

THIS was more extenſive and ſevere than the Bull of Pope *Innocent* VIII. mention'd above in the Year 1493.

K. Henry's Proclamat. appointing a Committee of Grievances. 106.

8. THE King's Proclamation giving notice, that he has appointed Commiſſioners, to whom ſuch as have any Complaints or Demands upon him may have liberty to apply themſelves at any time within the ſpace of two Years to come; dated *Aug.* 16. 1504. at *Weſtminſter*.

Empſon and Dudley, two wicked Miniſters.

'TIS probable that the Murmurings of the People againſt *Empſon* and *Dudley* were the cauſe of this Proclamation; but it was not effectual enough to put a ſtop to the Acts of Injuſtice and Violence committed by thoſe two Miniſters.

Henry's Treaty with King Philip of Spain. 123.

9. A TREATY of Friendſhip, Alliance and Confederacy between *Henry* VII. and *Philip* I. Archduke of *Auſtria*, and King of *Caſtile*; dated *Feb.* 9, 1506. at *Windſor*.

PHILIP was at that time in *England*.

His Marriage Treaty with Margaret of Auſtria.

THE Acts which follow this Treaty, ſuppoſe a Treaty to have been made on the 20th of *March*, for *Henry* VII's Marriage with *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Siſter to *Philip* and the Ducheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, but we don't find it in the Collection.

A

10. A Commission to *John Young* to go over to the *Netherlands*, to see that several of the Nobility there took the Oath for observing the Treaty of the 20th of *March*, relating to the King's Marriage with *Margaret* of *Austria*. The Commission is dated *May* 10, 1506. at *Westminster*. *A.* 1507. *The Oath taken upon it by the Flemish Lords.* 127.

It appears by it, that in the Marriage Treaty *Philip* engag'd to give his Sister a Portion of 300000 Crowns of *French* Gold, and a yearly Pension of 30850 Crowns in the same Money, as long as the Marriage subsisted; and that several Noblemen of the *Low-Countries* engag'd by Oath to procure the Observation of the said Treaty, as much as if it was their own Concern. *Her Portion.*

In this thirteenth Volume of the *Fœdera*, we find a great number of other Acts which have regard to this Treaty, and the Observation of it. But *Philip* dying the same Year, and leaving no Children but what were under Age, *Henry* in all probability thought it wou'd not be easy for him to cause this Treaty to be put in Execution, and therefore he drop'd all Thoughts of this Marriage, which he had never concluded but for the sake of the Money that he was to get by it. *Why the Marriage was never celebrated.*

11. A Treaty for the Marriage of *Charles* Archduke of *Austria*, and Prince of *Spain*, with *Mary*, *Henry* the VII's second Daughter, concluded at *Calais*, *Dec.* 21. 1507. *Marriage Treaty of Henry's Daughter Mary with Charles Prince of Spain.* 171.

By this Treaty, *Charles*, or *Maximilian* his Grandfather and Guardian, and *Margaret* his Aunt, engag'd in his Name to cause his Marriage to be solemniz'd by Proxy before the Festival of *Easter* 1508. and to contract it with *Mary*, *per verba de præsenti*, 40 Days after he is full 14 Years of Age, on the Penalty of 250000

H. VII. Crowns. Moreover, *Maximilian*, *Margaret*, 14 Noblemen, and 12 of the beſt Towns in the *Netherlands* were to engage for the performance of the Treaty, on the Penalty of 50000 Crowns of Gold.

Her Portion and Jointure. *MARY*'s Portion was 250000 Crowns of Gold, and her Jointure the ſame that was ſettled on *Margaret* of *York*, Ducheſs of *Burgundy*.

AMONG the Acts of the Year 1508. we find ſeveral Obligations of the Nobility and Towns of the *Netherlands*, conformable to the Treaty abovemention'd: As

Proxy for celebrating the Marriage. 230. 1. A PROXY from *Maximilian* and Prince *Charles*, to *John* Lord of *Bergenopzoom*, to go and celebrate the Marriage in the Name of *Charles*; dated *Octob.* 27, 1508. at *Breda*.

IN this Act 'tis ſaid, that by reaſon of King *Henry*'s illneſs, of which he is perfectly recover'd, the Term fix'd in the Treaty for ſolemnizing it was by common Conſent prolong'd.

The Marriage Inſtrument. 236. 2. A PUBLICK Inſtrument drawn up on the 17th of *December* 1508. at *Richmond*, for the Celebration of the Marriage of *Charles* and *Mary*.

THESE are the Terms which the Lord of *Berghes* made uſe of for eſpouſing *Mary* in the name of Prince *Charles*.

'THE moſt High and Mighty Prince, my 'moſt Dread Sovereign Lord *Charles*, by the 'Grace of God, Prince of *Spain*, Archduke of '*Auſtria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, &c.——By me '*John de Berghes* his Proctor, by his ſpecial Com-'miſſion and Proxy now read, declar'd and 'publiſh'd, to this end fully appointed and 'ordain'd; takes you Lady *Mary* to his Wife 'and Spouſe, and repoſes in you as his true 'Wife and Spouſe. And my ſaid moſt Dread 'Lord promiſes you, and I promiſe you for him,

'that

'that from henceforth, and during his natural 'Life, he will have, hold and repute you for 'his Wife and Spouſe. *A.* 1508.

'AND accordingly, by the Virtue and Au- 'thority above mention'd, He, and I for him, 'pledge you his Faith.'

MARY made uſe of almoſt the ſame Terms to engage her Faith to the Prince of *Spain*; after which the Lord of *Berghes* ſaluted her, and put the Ring on her middle Finger.

AFTER all, *Charles* did not conſummate this Marriage when he came to be 14 Years of Age, but afterwards marry'd a Princeſs of *Portugal.*

3. *CHARLES*'s Letters Patent, authoriz'd by the Emperor *Maximilian* his Grandfather and Guardian, whereby he pawns to *Henry* a Jewel call'd the Rich Lilly or *Flower de Lys*, for the Sum of 50000 Crowns; dated *Dec.* 21. 1508. at *Richmond.* *Prince Charles's Pawn to K.* Henry. 239.

4. THE Inventory of the Jewels contain'd in the rich *Flower de Lys*, weighing in the whole, in Gold and in precious Stones, 211 Ounces and half. *Henry* VIII. ſent this Pawn to *Francis* I. to enable him to pay his Ranſom to the Emperor *Charles* V. *The Particulars of it.* 241. *The Return of it to* France.

ARTICLE II. *Affairs with* France *and* Bretagne.

CHARLES VIII. King of *France* having heard of the Earl of *Richmond*'s happy Succeſs in *England*, own'd him for King, even before he was crown'd, and before the Meeting of the Parliament, and made a Truce with him for a Year. Next Year, the two Kings made a new Truce for three Years, in which each propos'd to himſelf a conſiderable Advantage. *Henry* look'd upon the Peace with his Neighbours, and particularly with *France*, as a thing which Charles VIII's *Recognition of* Henry's *Title, and Truces with him.* *The Policy of both Princes.*

was

H. VII. was abſolutely neceſſary for him in the Infancy of his Reign. *Charles* had alſo two very ſtrong Reaſons to avoid renewing the War with *England*. 1. Becauſe that after the Breach of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, in the Reign of *Charles* V. the Kings of *England* had renew'd their Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *France*. The Violation of that Peace was at firſt indeed very much to the Advantage of *France*, but it gave occaſion to the War which *Henry* V. made againſt her afterwards, the Succeſs whereof made the *French* often wiſh that the Treaty of *Bretigny* had never been broke. In fine, the untimely Death of *Henry* V. the Minority of *Henry* VI. and many other Reaſons, had actually reſtor'd *France* to a better State than it was left in by *Charles* V. at his Death. Mean time the Pretenſions of the Kings of *England* ſtill ſubſiſted, and it was not impoſſible but favourable Opportunities might ariſe to draw the *Engliſh* again into *France*: for the War renew'd by *Charles* V. continued, and notwithſtanding the Truces which had interrupted it from time to time, no Regulation was made with reſpect to the Pretenſions of the Parties, which were ſtill the ſame as ever. *Edward* IV. was not unmindful of this when he carry'd the War into *France*, to aſſert the Title which he deriv'd from his Predeceſſors. The Treaty which he made at *Pequigny* with *Lewis* XI. did not in the leaſt prejudice that Title, which remain'd as good as it was at the Time of the Violation of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, without mentioning the Treaty of *Troyes* made in the Reign of *Henry* V. whereby his Succeſſors pretended to have acquir'd a new Right. It was therefore the Intereſt of *France* not to rouſe the *Engliſh*, becauſe ſhe cou'd get but little by them, and had a vaſt

vaſt deal to loſe. And this was the conſtant Policy of the Kings of *France* from the time they drove the *Engliſh* out of the Kingdom, to the taking of *Calais* in the Reign of *Henry* II. *Lewis* XI. Father of *Charles* VIII. did not ſtick to purchaſe a Peace of *Edward* IV. tho in the main he was able enough to have defended himſelf when he was attack'd by him; and I ſhall have frequent occaſion hereafter to ſhew that *Charles* VIII. *Lewis* XII. and *Francis* I. never departed from this Maxim. *A.* 1487.

CHARLES VIII. had a ſecond Reaſon yet ſtronger to prolong the Truce with *England*, *viz.* The Project he had form'd to conquer the Duchy of *Bretagne*, which he very well knew it was the Intereſt of *England* to prevent.

ACCORDINGLY in the Spring of the Year 1487. the ſaid Prince attack'd the Duke of *Bretagne*, and immediately made himſelf Maſter of a great part of his Country. For *Henry* was at that time employ'd againſt the counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*; and beſides, the three Years Truce he had concluded with *France* ty'd up his Hands; which was a very happy Conjuncture for the King of *France*. The Civil War in *England* being over ſooner than *Charles* expected, by the Victory of *Stoke*, he was afraid that *Henry* wou'd relieve the Duke of *Bretagne*, as indeed he ought to have done, according to all the Rules of State Policy; for this Reaſon *Charles* immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to him, who exerted all their Rhetoric to perſwade him not to enter into the Quarrel. *Charles attacks* Bretagne. *Sends Ambaſſadors to diſſuade K.* Henry *from entring into the Quarrel.*

TO give the full State of *Henry*'s Conduct in this Affair, wou'd run me into ſuch a Train of Particulars, as wou'd be too long for an Abridgment. Therefore tho this be the only Subject of 5 Years of this Reign, I will not dwell upon it,

H. VII. it, and ſhall content my ſelf with laying down ſome Principles which may be of very great Uſe for underſtanding the Acts in the *Fœdera*, which relate either to *France* or *Bretagne*.

Henry's wrong Notion of the War in Bretagne.

ACCORDING to all appearance, *Henry*, as ſagacious as he was, had a wrong Notion of the War in *Bretagne*. He was fully convinc'd how much it was the Intereſt of *England* to hinder the Duchy of *Bretagne* from falling into the Hands of the King of *France*; but he always thought it was in his Power to prevent it by the means of a Negociation, without giving the D. of *Bretagne* any effectual Succours. He believ'd that *Charles* wou'd never run the Riſque of entring into an open War with *England*, and that therefore, to terrify him with the Fears of ſuch a War, wou'd be giving effectual Relief to the oppreſſed Duke. Being ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with this Fancy, he attended to the Affair no farther than as he might be a Gainer by it, that is to ſay in Money, for never was there a Prince more greedy of Pelf than he, nor more dextrous at converting every thing to his own Profit; of which we ſhall ſee a Proof in what remains for me to ſay upon this Head. While he thought therefore that he cou'd finiſh the War in *Bretagne* when he pleas'd, by a Treaty, he reſolv'd to make uſe of that opportunity to get a Subſidy from the Parliament, on pretence that *England* was concern'd in Intereſt not to ſuffer *Bretagne* to be loſt. For this end, he found it abſolutely neceſſary to give *Charles* VIII. time to make great Progreſs in that Duchy, that the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Neceſſities might be made manifeſt, and that the Parliament might have no excuſe to refuſe the Subſidy.

His Avarice.

IT was with this View that, at the very time when the Duke was moſt preſs'd, *Henry* prolong'd his Truce with *France* for a Year. The Duke of *Bretagne* was a Sacrifice to this Policy; he was oblig'd to hazard a Battle in which he was overcome, and then he made a Treaty with the King of *France*, which left him Maſter of a great part of the Duchy. The Duke died ſoon after, leaving *Anne* his Daughter, who ſucceeded him, no Reſource but the Succours which ſhe expected from *England*. Then it was that *Henry* form'd a new Project: As he could not have had a more preſſing Occaſion than he had then to deſire a Subſidy of the Parliament, for the Relief of *Bretagne*, he obtain'd it, and immediately reſolv'd with himſelf not only to keep every Penny of it in his own hands, but alſo to get a good Sum of Money out of the new Ducheſs. With this View, he made a Treaty with her, whereby he engag'd himſelf to ſend her a Supply of 6000 Men for ſix or ſeven Months; but at the ſame time made her engage to repay him all the Money he ſhould lay out for her, without fixing any particular Sum; for his Deſign was afterwards to make thoſe Expences riſe as high as he pleaſed. By which means 'tis clear, that not only the whole Subſidy granted by Parliament was to remain in his hands, but what he was to receive from the Ducheſs over and above what he ſhould expend in the Armament.

A. 1487.

The D. of Bretagne *a Sacrifice to* Henry's *Conduct, who gets a Subſidy of the Parliament for his Relief, and kept it himſelf.*

Henry's Treaty with the Ducheſs.

THE whole was founded upon this Principle, that it would be in his Power to oblige the King of *France* to ſubmit to what he pleas'd, and that the ſaid Prince would do any thing rather than engage in a War with him. To ſucceed in this Deſign, he pretended to eſpouſe the Ducheſs's Intereſt as heartily as if it had been

With foreign Powers.

H. VII. been his own. For ſome time Ambaſſadors were continually going and coming on both ſides from *London* to *Paris*, and from *Paris* to *London*, but to no manner of purpoſe. In the mean while, leſt *Charles* ſhould perceive his Intentions, he took care in the moſt publick manner to make Alliances with Princes who were likely to give the moſt Jealouſy to the King of *France*; namely, *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, *Philip* his Son, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* King and Queen of *Spain*, the Duke of *Milan*, and ſome others, in order to make *Charles* believe that he was preparing to make a powerful Effort againſt him; tho we ſhall find by ſome of the Pieces in the *Fœdera* that nothing was farther from his Thoughts. Mean time *Charles* fearing or pretending as if he fear'd that a potent League was form'd againſt him, ſtill continued his Negotiations with *England*. He even propos'd to take *Henry* not only for a Mediator, but alſo for a Judge of his Differences with the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, and this more and more confirm'd *Henry* in his Politicks. When he thought he had ſufficiently intimidated *Charles*, he gave over treating of the Affair of *Bretagne*, and again demanded of him the Arrears of the Penſion that *Lewis* XI. had engag'd to pay *Edward* IV. which amounted to 125000 Crowns.

His Treaty with Foreign Powers.

Charles's Negotiations with him.

His Demand upon Charles *of old Arrears.*

Ducheſs of Bretagne's *Marriage to* Maximilian, *which ſhe is forc'd to renounce and to marry* K. Charles.

ALL *Henry's* Negotiations with *France* producing nothing in favour of the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, and the 6000 *Engliſh* that return'd from thence at the end of the Months, having done no more Service than only ſuſpending the Progreſs of the King of *France* for a little while, *Anne* was at laſt perſuaded to marry the King of the *Romans*, upon the Hopes given her that he would bring her powerful Succours. This Mar-

Marriage was concluded privately, *John de Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, being as Proxy for the King of the *Romans*; but *Anne* receiv'd no manner of Aſſiſtance from her Husband. At length *Charles* VIII. being inform'd of the Ducheſs's Marriage, and knowing that it had not been conſummated, preſs'd her to that degree that he never let her reſt till he made her conſent to marry him, and by that means put himſelf in Poſſeſſion of the whole Duchy of *Bretagne*. *A.* 1466.

THUS was *Henry* the Dupe of *Charles*, and his own Politicks. Beſides the Loſs of *Bretagne*, which was a ſubſtantial one to *England*, he was at a Loſs for his Money, of which, hereafter, Payment muſt neceſſarily be demanded of the King of *France*. Upon this occaſion, where his own Intereſt lay at ſtake, he eaſily imagin'd that the Method of Negotiation would be tedious, and perhaps to no purpoſe. This was what made him reſolve to carry the War into *France*, or rather to make a Shew of it; for I am perſuaded that his Preparations and the great Noiſe he made of his Alliances had no other View but to frighten the King of *France*, in order to make him come into his Meaſures; for his Allies were in no wiſe oblig'd to aſſiſt him, as we ſhall ſee by the Treaties he made with them. Nevertheleſs, he obtain'd for this pretended War a great Subſidy from the Parliament, who believ'd that he really had a deſign to revive the antient Pretenſions of the Kings of *England* to *France*, as he affected to give out.

Henry convinc'd of his miſtaken Policy.

He gets the Parliament to grant him another Subſidy for a War with France.

AT firſt, *Charles* deſpis'd his Menaces, but hearing that the Parliament had taken Fire; as he himſelf was ignorant of the Secret of the Alliances which *Henry* had concluded with di-

H. VII. vers Princes, and as he was afraid to have a League upon his Back, which wou'd break all the Meaſures he had already concerted for the War of *Naples*, he thought it wou'd be more for his Advantage to ſatisfy his Enemy, who wanted nothing but Money to make him quiet. Therefore he ſent Agents to him who found out the way to content him, or at leaſt to put the matter in a very fair way of being ſoon accommodated. But *Henry*, either that he might have an Occaſion to levy the whole Subſidy which the Parliament had granted him, or for other Reaſons, made a profound Secret of what had been offer'd to him by *France*, and always feign'd an inclination to carry the War into that Kingdom. He went therefore to *Calais* with his Army, the beginning of *October* 1492, and march'd towards *Boulogne*, as if he had deſign'd to beſiege that Place. He was no ſooner arriv'd before the Town, than *Richard Fox* his conſtant Ambaſſador, who had negotiated with the Marſhal *Deſquerdes*, came to bring him Articles which they agreed to refer to the good Pleaſure of the two Kings. Then it was that *Henry* made loud Complaint that the King of the *Romans* and the King of *Spain* broke their word to him, by leaving him in the lurch to begin the War by himſelf. This was a rare handle for him to ſhew that he was forc'd to make a Peace. Then he call'd a Council of all the great Courtiers and General Officers of the Army to conſider whether it was proper to accept of the Offer made to him by *France*; and the Council were unanimouſly of opinion that he ought not to boggle at making a Peace upon thoſe Terms. This was follow'd with a Treaty made at *Eſtaples*, whereby *Charles* VIII. engag'd to pay him all that was due to him from

Henry's *pretended War with* France.

He calls a Council of Courtiers and Officers, who adviſe him to make Peace.

Treaty of Eſtaples.

from the Queen of *France* and Ducheſs of *Bretagne* amounting to 620000 Crowns. 'Tis very odd, that tho *Henry* had made a mighty noiſe of the War he intended againſt *France*, yet *Charles*, at the ſame time that the Enemy enter'd *Picardy*, was taking his Pleaſure at *Tours*, not having an Army in that Province to oppoſe him; which is a very clear Proof that they were agreed even before *Henry* went beyond Sea. Thus *Henry* obtain'd what he propos'd to himſelf, I mean the filling of his Coffers, what with the Money of *France*, and the Sums granted him by the Parliament, but *England* loſt the Duchy of *Bretagne*. A. 1492.

The Loſs of Bretagne *to* England.

From the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, to the end of the Reign of *Henry* VII. there was a good Underſtanding betwixt the two Courts of *France* and *England*. *Charles* VIII. who had turn'd all his Thoughts towards *Italy*, was very glad to give no Colour for a Diverſion on the part of *England*. This was the reaſon that he regularly paid *Henry* the Sums he engag'd to pay him by the Treaty, *viz.* 50000 Livres a Year at two Terms, till the whole was paid. *Henry*, for his part, had no mind at all to enter into a War, either with *France* or with any other State, but choſe rather to make it his ſole Care to maintain himſelf on the Throne, to repel or prevent the Attacks of his Domeſtick Enemies, and to heap up Money. Nevertheleſs he enter'd into the League which was made in *Italy* againſt *Charles* VIII. but upon his Account it was only a defenſive Alliance in which the King of *France* was not ſo much as nam'd.

Henry enters into a League in Italy *againſt* Ch. VIII. *of* France.

LEWIS XII. Succeſſor to *Charles* VIII. took extraordinary care to give *Henry* no Cauſe

H. VII. of Diſguſt, by reaſon of the War of *Milan*, with which his Hands were full.

THE following are the Acts which relate to *France* or *Bretagne*.

Truces with France. 277. 1. A Proclamation to acquaint the People of a Truce concluded for a Year with *France*; dated *Octob.* 12, 1485. at *Weſtminſter*.

IT was very advantageous to *Henry* to have the King of *France* own him as King, even before he was crown'd, and before the Meeting of the Parliament. The Coronation was not till the 30th of *October*, and the Parliament did not meet till the 7th of *November*.

281. 2. *Charles* VIIIth's Letters Patent, whereby he owns that he has concluded a Truce with *Henry*, which is to laſt three Years, ending on the 17th of *January* 1489; dated *Jan.* 17, 1486. at *Melun*.

Henry's *Conventions with the D. of* Bretagne. 303. 3. Conventions with *Francis* II. Duke of *Bretagne*, containing among other things a Truce which was to continue for a Year after the Death of the King and the Duke; dated at *London*, *July* 22, 1486.

ENGLAND was upon the ſame Terms with *Bretagne* as with *France*, that is to ſay always at War, but it had been interrupted by ſeveral Truces.

Commiſſion to treat with Fran. 337. 4. A Commiſſion to the Abbot of *Abingdon*, &c. to treat with the King of *France* about the Differences betwixt *England* and *France*, and betwixt *France* and the Duke of *Bretagne*; dated *March* 17, 1488. at *Canterbury*.

THIS was the firſt Step which *Henry* took in favour of the Duke of *Bretagne*, tho the War of *Bretagne* was begun a Year before.

Truce with France. 344. 5. *Henry*'s Ratification of the Prolongation of the Truce with *France* to the 17th of *January*,

nuary, 1490. dated *July* 14, 1488. at the Caſtle of *Windſor*. *A.* 1488.

NOTHING is a plainer Proof of *Henry*'s backwardneſs to give effectual Relief to the Duke of *Bretagne*, at a time too when that Duke was moſt preſs'd for want of it, than this Prolongation of the Truce with *France*, when it did not appear there was any manner of neceſſity for prolonging the ſame, unleſs it was to make it eaſy for the King of *France* to make the greater Progreſs in *Bretagne*. It was on the 28th of *July* that the Duke loſt the Battle of *St. Aubin du Cormier*. Not long after that, he made a diſadvantageous Treaty with *Charles* VIII. and dy'd in the Month of *September*.

D. of Bretagne's *Diſcouragements, Defeat and Death.*

6. A Commiſſion to *Urſewick* and others to treat with the King of *France* concerning his Differences with the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*; dated *Dec.* 11, 1488. at *Weſtminſter*.

Commiſſions to treat with the King of France. 347.

7. Another to *Edgecomb*, &c. to treat with the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, with Power to engage the King to ſend her Succours, on condition of finding Securities; dated as above.

And with the Ducheſs of Bretagne. 349.

8. An Order to raiſe Troops for the Relief of the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*; dated *Dec.* 23, 1488. at *Maidſtone*.

Order to raiſe Troops for her. 355.

SOME have pretended that *Henry* ſent Relief to the Duke of *Bretagne* before the Battle of *St. Aubin du Cormier*, and that the *Engliſh* perform'd Wonders in that Engagement. But this Act ſhews it cou'd not be; and if there were any *Engliſh* in that Battle they cou'd only be Volunteers *.

9. A

* MR. *Rapin* in his Hiſtory ſays, that becauſe the *Engliſh* at that time wore a Red Croſs upon their Habits, 1200 *Bretons* diſtinguiſh'd in like manner were join'd to

H. VII. 9. A Treaty concluded at *Rennes*, betwixt *Henry* and the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*; dated *Feb.* 10, 1489.

Treaty with the Ducheſs of Bretagne *at* Rennes. 362.

THESE were the chief Articles.

'THE King ſhall ſend a Body of 6000 Men 'into *Bretagne* at his own Expence, who ſhall 'ſerve the Ducheſs till the firſt of *November*, 'at which time ſhe ſhall furniſh them with 'Veſſels to return to *England*.

'THE *Engliſh* Troops ſhall Land in *Bre*-'*tagne* about the end of *February*, if the Weather 'permits. (This Treaty was not ratify'd by the King till the firſt of *April*.)

Henry's *Ratification of it.* 372.

'THE Ducheſs ſhall reimburſe the King all 'his Expences, as well for the Levy of the '6000 Men, as for their Tranſportation, Main-'tenance in *Bretagne*, and their Return, and 'for the keeping of the Places hereafter men-'tion'd.

'Payment ſhall be made in *England* at the 'Ducheſs's Peril. It may be made at ſeveral 'times, but the Places ſhall remain in the 'King's Hands till the whole is paid.

'The Ducheſs ſhall deliver up any two of 'the following Places to the King at his Op-

400 *Engliſh* which were brought into the Field under the Lord *Woodville*, on purpoſe to make the *French* believe that freſh Succours were arriv'd from *England*. This our Author ſuppoſes, is what gave occaſion to the Miſtake. The Lord *Bacon* does not ſay this in his Hiſtory, but he affirms that 8000 *Engliſh* arriv'd in a few Days after, and that they actually offer'd Battle to the *French* who did not think fit to accept it. *Polydore Virgil*, and many others, ſay the ſame thing; but in this they are all miſtaken: for *Henry* had not yet made any Treaty with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and it was not till after, and in the Month of *March* 1489. that he ſent 6000 Men to the Ducheſs his Daughter.

'tion,

'tion, *viz. Tomclaromneau, Hennebond, Avray, Vannes* or *Guerande*, to keep them as a Security and Mortgage, with all their Revenues, *&c.* *A.* 1489.

'IF the Ducheſs recover any of her Places, as for Inſtance *St. Malo*, the King may exchange them for thoſe that he ſhall then have in his Hands.

'COMMISSIONERS ſhall be appointed on both ſides to regulate the Sum of the King's Expences.

'THE Ducheſs ſhall take an Oath that ſhe will not diſturb the King in the Poſſeſſion of the Places which ſhe ſhall deliver up to him.

'THESE Places ſhall be furniſh'd with Proviſions for a Fortnight, as alſo with the Artillery and Ammunition neceſſary for their Defence.

'SHE ſhall ſend to the Ships that are to bring the *Engliſh* Troops to her, 16 Hoſtages, *viz.* —— or at leaſt 4 of them, to ſtay there till the Places are deliver'd up to the *Engliſh*.

'THE Ducheſs, the Marſhal *de Rieux*, and 4 Lords of *Bretagne* ſhall ſwear that ſhe ſhall not engage in any Marriage without the King's Conſent.

'FOR the future, neither the Ducheſs nor her Succeſſors ſhall make any Treaty with any Prince or State without the King's Conſent, except with the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Spain*, nor even with them, without expreſly including the King of *England* therein.

'SHE ſhall make no Peace, nor ſo much as a Truce for above two Years, without the King's Conſent.

H. VII. 'THE King engages himſelf to make no 'new Truce with *France*, not even for two 'Months only, without including the Ducheſs 'in it.

Ducheſs of Bretagne's Negotiation with Henry. 387.

10. A COMMISSION from the Ducheſs of *Bretagne* to treat with *Henry*; dated *Feb.* 15, 1490. at *Rennes*.

HENRY had already withdrawn the Troops which he had ſent into *Bretagne*, except ſuch as guarded the Places deliver'd up to them. Therefore the Ducheſs ſent him Ambaſſadors to deſire freſh Succours of him. But inſtead of making any Conventions upon this Article, *Henry* thought of nothing but to make himſelf more and more ſecure of being repaid the Money which he had already laid out. Mean time he amus'd the Ambaſſadors with the Hopes of a potent League which he was forming againſt *France*, and which wou'd be more effectual than the Succours he cou'd ſend to the Ducheſs.

Negotiations with France, on his Difference with the Ducheſs. 449, 453.

11. A COMMISSION to *Richard Fox* and others to treat with the King of *France*, about his Differences with the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*; dated *Feb.* 27, 1490. at *Weſtminſter*.

Another Commiſſion to treat with the Ducheſs. 451.

12. ANOTHER to *Giles d' Aubney* to treat with the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, and to receive from her Securities, Promiſes and Obligations for the Expences which the King had been at already on her account, and to receive certain Places as a Pledge for the Payment of the Expences to come; dated *April* 12, 1490. at *Canterbury*.

Henry's *agreement with her about a Gariſon at* Nantes, 452.

13. LETTERS Patent, by which the King who wiſh'd to have an *Engliſh* Gariſon in the City of *Nantes*, which was then juſt ready to be attack'd by the *French*, engages upon Oath, that the ſame ſhall be evacuated by his Troops

at the first Request of the Duchess; dated *June* 12, 1490. at *Westminster*. *A.* 1490.

14. ANOTHER Commission to *Richard Fox* and others, to treat with the King of *France* about his Differences with the Duchess; dated *June* 19, 1490. at *Westminster*.

15. A SAFE Conduct for the Archbishop of *Sens*, the Marshal *Desquerdes*, and other Ambassadors of *France*; dated *July* 12, 1490. at *Westminster*. *Passport for the* French *Ambassadors.* 454.

16. A PATENT constituting *Giles d' Aubney* General of the Army design'd to act against *France*; dated *July* 16, 1490. at *Westminster*. Giles d' Aubney *made General of the Army.* 455.

THERE was at that time no Army ready, so that this was done for no other end but to make the *French* Ambassadors that were coming to *London*, believe that the King had a Design to declare War against their Master.

17. LETTERS Patent from the Ambassadors of *Bretagne*, by which they own that the King has faithfully observ'd the Treaty of *Rennes*, and also promise in the Name of the Duchess, and by virtue of the Authority vested in them, that she will deliver up the Town and Castle of *Morlaix* to the King of *England*, and that she will repay him all the Expence he has been at for her; dated *July* 26, 1490. at *London*. *Declaration and Promise of the Ambassadors of* Bretagne *to K.* Henry. 456.

18. AN Obligation by the said Ambassadors importing, that the Duchess engages to pay 6000 Crowns of Gold every Year to the King, in consideration of his being inclin'd to let her enjoy the Revenues of *Morlaix*; dated *July* 26, 1490. at *London*. *Their Bond to K.* Henry *in the Name of the Duchess.* 458.

19. A TREATY of Alliance betwixt *Henry* and *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, for the Defence of the Duchess of *Bretagne*; dated *Sept.* 11, 1490. at *Okyng*. Henry's *Treaties with* Maximilian. 397.

20. CON-

H. VII. 400. 20. CONVENTIONS between *Henry* and *Maximilian* about the War which they were to make againſt *France*; dated *Sept.* 12. 1490. as above.

THESE were the principal Articles.

'THAT if *Charles* attack *Maximilian*, *Henry*, 'the Archduke *Philip*, or the Ducheſs of *Bre-* 'tagne, they ſhall declare War againſt him 'without delay, at the Requeſt of either of 'the Powers attack'd.

'THAT if it be thought fit, *Maximilian* and '*Henry* ſhall enter *France*, each at the Head of 'an Army.

'THAT if either of the two requires the 'other to begin the War, by reaſon of the In- 'vaſion of *Bretagne*, they ſhall be oblig'd to do 'it in ſix Months after being ſo requir'd.

'THAT when the War is begun, they ſhall 'not ſheath the Sword within two Years.

'THAT there ſhall be neither Peace nor 'Truce without a mutual Conſent.

'IF the two Kings think fit to prolong the 'Term of three Years, the reſt of the Conven- 'tions ſhall continue firm.

403. 21. OTHER ſecret Articles or Regulations of the ſaid Treaty; dated *Sept.* 13, 1490. at *Okyng*; importing,

'THAT each of the Allies may give over 'the War two Years after 'tis begun, without 'the Conſent of the other.

'THAT 'twill be ſufficient if either of the 'Powers begins the War a Year after he is 'requir'd.

'THAT *Maximilian* ſhall cauſe the Treaty 'to be ratify'd by his Son *Philip* when he comes 'of Age: For he was then but 12 Years 'old.

22. A

22. A PROCLAMATION which orders publick Notice to be given that the King has made an Alliance with the King of the *Romans*, and that the King and Queen of *Spain* are included in the Treaty. 'Tis dated *Sept.* 17, 1490. at *Okyng*. *A.* 1490. *Proclamation of the Treaty.* 410.

THIS Proclamation ſet forth that the King had made an Alliance with the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Spain*, and that it was ſtipulated by the Treaty, that if the King of *France* attack'd any of the three Allies, or the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, the others ſhall declare themſelves his Enemies, and make actual War upon him with all their Forces. But the King took care not to mention the ſecret Articles, or Regulations.

23. A DECLARATION by the King concerning a Treaty which he had made with the King and Queen of *Spain*, on *May* 7, 1489. and the Ratification thereof; dated *Sept.* 20, 1490. at *Okyng*. *K's Declaration and Ratification of the Treaty with Spain.* 411.

THIS Declaration imported, that in the Treaty which he had made with the King and Queen of *Spain*, it was ſaid that the Allies might give over the War againſt *France*, in caſe that *Charles* VIII. voluntarily ſurrender'd *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne* to *Ferdinand*, and *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *Henry*; but that notwithſtanding this Clauſe they had made a new Agreement, that the Allies ſhou'd not make Peace without each others Conſent.

24. THE Ratification of the Treaty made with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*; dated *Sept.* 23, 1490. at the Royal Manor of *Okyng*. 417.

THE Treaty is inſerted in the *Fœdera* at full length. It contains, beſides the Conventions for a War againſt *France*, a perpetual Alliance, and an Engagement for the Marriage of *Arthur* with

H. VII. with *Catherine*, of which I treated under the first Article. This is the Treaty which *Henry* wanted to make publick.

413. 25. THE Ratification of the secret Articles or Regulations of the Treaty made with *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. 'Tis dated *Sept.* 20, as above.

THESE Regulations were the very same with those of the Treaty made with the King of the *Romans*. It manifestly appear'd from thence, that *Henry*, when he publish'd those Treaties without the Regulations, had no other View than to intimidate the King of *France*, and to make him give over the War against the Duchess of *Bretagne*, or else to conclude it by some tolerable Treaty.

Pass for the French *Ambassadors.* 430.

26. A SAFE Conduct for the Ambassadors of *France*; dated *Octob.* 8, 1490. at *Knoll.*

D. of Milan's *Alliance with* K. Henry. 429.

27. LETTERS Patent of *John Galeaz* Duke of *Milan*, whereby he own'd that he had made an Alliance with *Henry* VII. King of *England*; dated *Octob.* 4, 1490. at *Somma.*

THIS Alliance was only in general Terms, and did not engage the two Princes to any reciprocal Assistance; but it serv'd *Henry*'s Purpose, who had a mind to frighten *Charles* VIII. with the noise of his Alliances.

Commission to treat of the Affairs of the D. of Bretagne. 431.

28. A COMMISSION to *Richard Fox* and others, to treat with the Ambassadors of *France* about the Affairs of the Duchess of *Bretagne*; dated *Octob.* 8, 1490. at *Knoll.*

IN this Commission the King gave Power to his Commissioners to treat about a certain Sum which was due to him from *France*, *viz.* the Arrears of *Lewis* XIth's Pension. And the same Clause was inserted in all the following Commissions.

29. A

29. A SAFE Conduct for *Francis* of *Luxemburg* Viſcount *de Martigues*, *Valeran de Sens*, and *Robert Gaguion*, Miniſter General of the Order of the Trinity, Ambaſſadors from *France*; dated *Decem.* 10, 1490. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1501. *Paſsports for the Fr. Ambaſſadors.* 432.

30. ANOTHER for *John de Chaalon* Prince of *Orange*, *Francis de Dunois*, and *Philip* of *Montauban*, Chancellor of *Bretagne*; dated *Dec.* 14, as above.

31. A COMMISSION to *Richard Fox*, *&c.* to treat with the Ambaſſadors of *France* about the Affairs of the King of the *Romans* and the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, and concerning a certain Sum of Money, *&c.* dated *Feb.* 17, 1491. at *Weſtminſter*. *Other Commiſſions to treat of the Affairs of the Duchеſs of* Bretagne 435, 436.

32. ANOTHER Commiſſion to the ſame Perſons to treat with the Ambaſſadors of the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*; dated *Feb.* 26, 1491. at *Weſtminſter*.

'TWAS juſt then and not before, that *Henry* was let into the Secret of the Ducheſs of *Bretagne*'s Marriage to the King of the *Romans*, which had been ſolemniz'd by Proxy in the Month of *November* 1489. And this made him reſolve to get ſtill farther Security for the Payment of what was due to him, by always pretending a deſire to aſſiſt the Ducheſs.

33. A COMMISSION to *Garter* King at Arms, and to *Francis Dupon*, to go and treat with *Anne* Queen of the *Romans*, and Ducheſs of *Bretagne*, and with the States of *Bretagne*, for the Payment of the Sums due to the King, and to receive Bonds and other Securities; dated *March* 29, 1491. at *Canterbury*. *Treaty with the Ducheſs and States of* Bretagne. 438.

34. A COMMISSION to *Oliver de Coetlogon* to receive Securities of the King of the *Romans*, for the Sum which is due to King *Henry* from the Ducheſs his Queen; dated *April* 23, 1491. at *Weſtminſter*. *Commiſſion to take Security for her Debt to the King.* 442.

35. LET-

H. VII.

Maximilian's *and* Anne's *promiſe of Payment.* 443.

35. LETTERS Patent from *Maximilian* and *Anne*, empowering *John le Bouteillier* Lord of *Manpertuis*, and *Peter Cojalu* to demand Succours of the King of *England*, and in their Name to promiſe the Payment of what is due to him; dated *May* 24, 1491. at *Rheims*.

Paſs for Fr. *Ambaſſadors.* 444.

36 A SAFE Conduct for the Ambaſſadors of *France*; dated *May* 26, 1491. at *Weſtminſter*.

37. ANOTHER for the Counteſs *de la Val*, the Marſhal *de Rieux*, and other Lords of *Bretagne*; dated *June* 3, 1491. at *Weſtminſter*.

THIS was one of the laſt Efforts that *Anne* made to obtain Aſſiſtance from *Henry*, who ſtill continued to amuſe her with the Hopes that he wou'd make a vigorous War againſt *Charles* VIII.

Henry's *Commiſſions to certain Perſons to treat with his Subjects for a ſupply for the War with* Fran. 446.

38. COMMISSIONS from *Henry* to ſeveral Perſons to let his Subjects know the great need he has of Money to make War againſt the King of *France*, who detains *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Tourain* and *Guienne* from him, and to exhort them to ſupply him; dated *July* 7, 1491. at *Weſtminſter*.

THE King had two Views in it. 1. To get Money out of thoſe who were diſpos'd to give him any: and, 2. To make the Inhabitants of *Bretagne* and the King of *France* believe that he was fully reſolv'd upon a War.

'TIS remarkable that in all the Negotiations abovemention'd, *Henry* never engag'd himſelf by any Treaty to give Succours to the Ducheſs, after he had recall'd the 6000 Men that he had ſent her in 1489, and that the Alliances which he made under the pretence of aſſiſting that Princeſs, ſignify'd nothing, by reaſon of the ſecret Articles or Regulations which were added to them. Mean time, *Charles* VIII. found a way to win the Ducheſs's Heart, and marry'd her on the 16th of *December* 1491.

Charles 8*th's Marriage to the Ducheſs of* Bretagne *tho ſhe was affianced to* Maximilian.

39. A COMMISSION to go beyond Sea and hire 500 Tranſports to ſerve in the intended Expedition againſt *France*; dated *Dec.* 5, 1491. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1492. *Commiſſion to hire Tranſports for the War with* France. 463.

THIS was in purſuance of *Henry*'s Deſign to frighten the King of *France*, for he cou'd not yet know his Marriage, the ſame not being celebrated till 11 Days after.

40. A SAFE Conduct for two of the King of *France*'s Privy Counſellors, *viz.* *George Gaſcon*, and *Montjoye* King at Arms; dated *Feb.* 5, 1492. at *Weſtminſter*. *Paſs for 2 of the* Fr. *King's Counſellors.* 470.

ACCORDING to all Appearance, theſe were the two Envoys that brought over the King of *France*'s Offers to King *Henry*.

41. A COMMISSION to *Richard Fox*, *Giles d' Aubney* and others, to treat and conclude with the King of *France* or his Deputies; dated *June* 12, 1492. at *Weſtminſter*. *Commiſſion to treat with the King of* France. 481

PROBABLY, theſe were the Commiſſioners or Ambaſſadors who agreed upon the Conditions of the Peace, tho *Henry* for private Reaſons thought fit to make a ſtir as if he was going to begin the War.

42. A PATENT appointing Prince *Arthur* Guardian of the Kingdom in the abſence of the King; dated *Octob.* 2, 1492. at *Dover*. *Pr.* Arthur *made Guardian of the Realm.* 487.

THIS was at the very time that the King ſet out with his Army for *Calais*. 'Tis like he had not concerted any great Projects for this Campaign, becauſe he began it ſo late.

43. THE Opinion of the Council appointed by the King to conſider of the Articles which *Richard Fox* and his Colleagues had agreed upon, with a reference to the good Pleaſure of the two Kings; dated *Nov.* 1, 1492. *The Council's Advice to* Henry *to make a Peace with* France. 490.

THESE Articles imported in Subſtance, that the King of *France* ſhou'd pay *Henry* 620000 Crowns

H. VII. Crowns of Gold (which is 124000 *l.*) to discharge the Debt owing to him from the Dutchess his Queen; and 125000 Crowns (which is 25000 *l.*) to pay off the Arrears of the Pension due from *Lewis* XI. the whole amounting to 745000 Crowns, or 149000 *l.*

THE Council was unanimously of Opinion, that the King shou'd accept the Offers of *France* for several Reasons mention'd in their Opinion, which was drawn up in Writing, and presented to the King. Some of those Reasons were manifestly false and groundless, others far-fetch'd, and others must have been foreseen; as for Example, that the Winter was approaching; that *Boulogne* was a City stronger and better provided than it was believ'd; that the King's Person wou'd be expos'd to great Dangers. In a word, 'tis very apparent that these Reasons were insinuated to the Council by some Person who was a Confident of the King, or else by the King himself.

The Treaty of Estaples. 497.

44. THE Treaty of *Estaples* between *Charles* VIII. and *Henry* VII. dated *Nov.* 3, 1492.

IT was stipulated by the two principal Articles of this Treaty, that the Peace between the two Crowns shou'd continue till the Death of the last Survivor of the two Kings, and that the King of the *Romans*, and the Archduke his Son shou'd be included in it if they desir'd it, by making their Declaration in four Months time. The Treaty made no mention either of *Henry*'s Pretensions upon *France*, *Normandy* or *Guienne*, nor of the Debt of 745000 Crowns.

The French King's Oath to observe it. 505.

45. THE Oath of *Charles* VIII. to observe the Treaty of *Estaples*; taken *Dec.* 6, 1492. at *Plessis* near *Tours*.

46. THE

46. THE Letters Patent of *Charles* VIII. containing his Ratification of the Articles or Conventions made by the Marſhal *Deſquerdes*, with the Ambaſſadors of *England*, on the 3d of *November*; dated *Dec.* 6, 1492. at *Tours*. *A.* 1492. *His Ratification of it.* 507.

THESE were the Conventions mention'd above. *Charles* oblig'd himſelf to pay *Henry* 745000 Crowns of Gold at ſeveral Terms, *viz.* 25000 Livres *Tournois* every half Year, till the whole was paid. Each Crown of Gold was fix'd at the Value of 4 *s.* 2 *d. Engliſh* Money.

47. A publick Inſtrument whereby *Charles* ſubjects himſelf to Excommunication in caſe he does not regularly pay the Sums promis'd; dated *Dec.* 13, 1492. at the Caſtle of *Amboiſe*. *He ſubmits to Excommunication upon Non-payment.* 509.

48. AN Acquittance given to *Charles* VIII. for 25000 Livres, being the firſt half yearly Payment due on the firſt of *May* 1493. dated the 4th of *Dec.* at *Weſtminſter*. *His Acquittances for the Money paid.* 527, 549, 550, 575, 623, 630.

WE find two ſuch Acquittances every Year, till the Death of *Charles* VIII.

49. A Convention betwixt the two Kings for prolonging the time of the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Eſtaples* by the general Aſſembly of the States of *France*, and by the Parliament of *England* to the Term of three Years, tho the Treaty provided it ſhou'd be done in one Year; dated *Dec.* 13, 1492. at *Amboiſe*, and *Jan.* 26, 1493. at *London*. *Confirmation of the Treaty of* Eſtaples *prolong'd.* 408, 413.

50. A publick Inſtrument of the Petition ſign'd by the Ambaſſadors of *England* before a Notary and Witneſſes, to Pope *Alexander* VI. that he wou'd pleaſe to excommunicate either of the two Kings that ſhou'd violate the Treaty of *Eſtaples*; dated *June* 13, 1493. at *Rome*. *Prayer of the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador to the Pope, to excommunicate the King that ſhou'd break it.* 531.

WE find in this Act that the Pope made Anſwer, that he wou'd ſtay till the King of *France* made the ſame Requeſt.

H. VII.

Confirmations of the Treaty. 572, 592, 596, 597 *to* 623, 625 *to* 635.

In the Year 1495. and especially in the following Year, we meet with several Confirmations and Approbations of the Treaty of *Estaples*, by the Provinces, Cities and Corporations of *France*, which were probably to supply the place of the general States of the Kingdom, which *Charles* did not think fit to assemble.

Henry's *League with the* Italian *Princes.* 638.

51. *HENRY*'s Letters Patent, whereby he makes known that *Robert Shirborn* his Ambassador at *Rome* hath enter'd in his Name into the League of *Italy*; dated *Sept.* 23, 1496. at *Windsor* Castle.

The Treaty which *Henry* made with the Confederates is here inserted at large.

Lewis XIIth's *Contracts to observe the Treaty of* Estaples, &c. 681, 694.

52. Confirmations, Ratifications, and the Bond and Oath of *Lewis* XII. with respect to the Treaty of *Estaples*, and to the Payment of the 745000 Crowns; dated *June* 24, 1498. at *Westminster*, and *July* 18. at *Paris*.

Acquittances to him for Money paid. 700, 712, 732, 734, 749, 753, 767, 769, *and* Vol. XIII. 34, 116, 117, 232.

53. An Acquittance to *Lewis* XII. for 25000 Livres; dated *Nov.* 8, 1498. at *Westminster*.

We find the like Acquittances every six Months, to the Death of *Henry* VII.

54. The Approbation of the Treaty of *Estaples* by the Nobility of *France* assembled at *Nantes*, representing the General States; dated at *Nantes Jan.* 15, 1499.

55. *HENRY*'s Attestation, that the Treaty of *Estaples* was approv'd by the Parliament on the 27th of *October* 1495. 'Tis dated *April* 7, 1499. at *Westminster*.

The Bull of Excommunication threaten'd against him that breaks it. 736.

56. The Bull of *Alexander* VI. granted at the Request of *Lewis* XII. and *Henry* VII. threatning Excommunication to either of the two Kings that shall break the Treaty of *Estaples*; dated at *Rome* the Calends of *February* 1500.

57. Another Bull of the same Pope, threatning Excommunication against *Lewis* XII. in case

case that he fails in his Payments, *&c.* dated the Day before the Ides of *June* 1500 at *Rome*. *A.* 1487.

THIS Bull was granted at the Requeſt of *Lewis* himſelf, who undertook to obtain it at his own Coſt in 18 Months time.

FROM that time to the Death of *Henry* VII. we find nothing conſiderable with reſpect to the Affairs of *England* with *France*.

ARTICLE III. *Affairs with* Scotland.

THE Fortreſs of *Dunbar* being in the Hands of the *Engliſh* in 1485. after the Duke of *Albany* had deliver'd it up to *Edward* IV. *James* III. King of *Scotland* retook it at the beginning of the Reign of *Henry* VII. who made no Effort at all to ſave it; for that was not a proper Juncture for him to fall out with *Scotland*. *Dunbar Caſtle retaken by the* Scots.

AND in 1486. the Lord *Lovel*'s Rebellion convincing him that his Reign was not like to be very peaceable, he made haſte to conclude a Truce with *Scotland* for three Years. Henry *the* VIIth's *Truce with the* Scots.

SOME time after, *viz.* in 1487. *James* III. who was always a capricious turbulent Prince, having given occaſion to the chief Nobility of *Scotland* to take Arms againſt him, they got Prince *James* his eldeſt Son into their Hands, who was about 15 Years of Age, and put him at their Head. From that time the King wou'd fain have made a Peace with them, but they wou'd not hearken to any Accommodation, unleſs he wou'd yield the Crown to the Prince his Son; which Propoſal terrify'd him to ſuch a degree, that he ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. *Rebellion of the* Scots *Nobility againſt K.* James III. *He flys to the Caſtle of* Edinburgh.

AT the ſame time *Henry* VII. having put a happy end to the Impoſture of *Lambert Simnel*, by the Victory at *Stoke*, went to *York*, where

H. VII. one *Snowdon* a Herald at Arms came to him from King *James* to beg his Aſſiſtance, and to treat with him upon Terms. *Henry* who never regarded any Affair further than his Self-Intereſt was concern'd in it, immediately hit on a Project to reap ſome Advantage by ſuch a Negociation, without troubling his Head with the King of *Scotland*'s Affairs. As the Princeſſes, the Daughters of *Edward* IV. and the Queen their Mother were a great Burden upon him, he agreed with the King of *Scotland* upon this occaſion, to make three Matches, *viz.* that King *James* himſelf ſhou'd marry the Queen Dowager of *England*, *Edward* IVth's Widow; that *Cæcilia*, *Edward*'s ſecond Daughter ſhou'd be marry'd to the Marqueſs of *Ormond* and Earl of *Rotheſay*, and that the Prince of *Scotland* ſhou'd have another of that King's Daughters. But as to the Succours which the King of *Scotland* deſir'd, the Negociation to that purpoſe was put off to an Interview which was to be between the two Kings.

He offers a Treaty with Henry VII.

Henry *offers him Marriages.*

K. of Scotland *kill'd in Battle, and is ſucceeded by his Son who headed the Rebels.*

But theſe Projects fell to the Ground by the Death of the King of *Scotland*, who was kill'd in 1488. in a Battle againſt the Rebel Lords, who had the Prince his Son at their Head; which Son ſucceeded him by the Name of *James* IV. but ſome refus'd to own him, becauſe ſaid they, he murder'd his Father.

James IV. *delays to prolong the Truce with* Henry.

During the two following Years, there were ſeveral Negociations between the two Kings, touching the Prolongation of the Truce.

As *Henry* threaten'd *France*, he did not doubt but *Charles* VIII. wou'd contrive to give him ſome Diverſion by means of the King of *Scotland*, therefore he left no Stone unturn'd for the ſake of prolonging the Truce with *James*: And for the ſame Reaſon the latter was not in haſte

to

to do it, while he thought the King of *France* might ſtand in need of him. At length in the Year 1491. *Henry* perceiving that this wou'd prove a tedious Affair, lent Money to certain *Scots* Noblemen, who engag'd to deliver up the King of *Scotland*, and the Prince his Brother, into his Hands. Whether *Henry* corrupted them, or whether he only accepted their Offers, is uncertain. However, the Plot did not take, and therefore *Henry* preſs'd the Negociation to the utmoſt of his Power, and at length his Ambaſſadors concluded a Truce for 5 Years with thoſe of *Scotland*, which he immediately ratify'd. But whether there was any Fraud in the caſe, or for what other Reaſon ſoever it was, it ſeems the King of *Scotland* refus'd to ratify the Treaty, and not long after, the two Kings concluded another Truce, which was to laſt only till the Month of *November* 1492.

A. 1497.

A Plot of ſome of his Subjects to deliver him up to Henry.

Truces with Scotland.

THE Peace between *Charles* VIII. and *Henry* being juſt ready to be concluded in 1492. *James*, who no doubt was inform'd of it, was more tractable than before, and conſented to a Truce with *England* till the Month of *April* 1494. This Truce was ſign'd on the ſame Day as the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, and was afterwards prolong'd in the Year 1493. to the Year 1501. but ill obſerv'd by the King of *Scotland*, who broke it in 1496. for the ſake of *Perkin Warbeck*, as was ſaid under the firſt Article. He invaded *England* in 1496, and again in 1497, but being forc'd to raiſe the Siege of *Norham*, and the Earl of *Surry* having taken *Ayton* from him, he was diſpos'd to make a Peace. *Henry* wiſh'd it alſo with all his Heart, but he wou'd not be the firſt to ask it; and to get out of this Difficulty, he made uſe of Don *Pedro d'Ayala* the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, who being the Miniſter of a

James's Invaſions of England.

H. VII. Prince that was a common Friend to both Kings, offer'd them his Mediation which was accepted, and *James* diſmiſs'd *Perkin Warbeck*, after which the two Kings concluded a Truce of ſeven Years, and refer'd the Deciſion of their Quarrel to the Arbitration of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*.

Another Truce with him.

THIS Truce was very near being broke in 1499, by a Quarrel which happen'd at *Norham* between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, in which the latter were us'd very ſcurvily. *James* demanded Satisfaction for it, and it was upon this occaſion that while the Affair was in Debate, *Richard Fox*, who was *Henry*'s never failing Agent, took an opportunity to treat of a Marriage between the King of *Scotland* and *Margaret*, who was *Henry*'s eldeſt Daughter. The Lord *Bacon* ſays, that the King of *Scotland* himſelf was the firſt that propos'd this Marriage. This may be true, but 'tis certain that *Henry* had it in his Head ſeveral Years before, as appears from divers Acts in the *Fœdera*. Be that as it will, this Marriage which carry'd the Crown of *England* into the Family of the *Stewarts*, was compleated to the mutual Satisfaction of both Kings; and at the ſame time a perpetual Peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings, by a Treaty which was ſign'd in *January* 1502.

James marries Henry's eldeſt Daughter, and makes a perpetual Peace with him.

The Acts relating to Scotland *are.*

Truce with Scotland. 285.

1. CONVENTIONS with the King of *Scotland* for a Truce, from the 3d of *July* 1486, to the ſame Day 1489; dated at *London July* 3, 1486.

Conventions for Marriages and an Interview. 328.

2. CONVENTIONS about certain Marriages, and for an Interview betwixt the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; dated *Nov.* 24, and

and 28, 1487. at *Edinburgh*, and *Dec.* 20, at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1488.

THE Death of *James* III. render'd theſe Conventions of no Effect.

3. SEVERAL ſafe Conducts for the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland*, and ſeveral Commiſſions to treat with them, which we find in the Years 1488, 1489, and 1490. *Paſsports and Commiſſions for Ambaſſadors.*

4. AN Engagement of the Lord *Bothwel* and Sir *Thomas Todde*, as well for themſelves as for the Earl of *Buchan* and others, to deliver up the King of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Roſs* his Brother into the Hands of the King of *England*; dated *April* 16, 1491. at *Greenwich*. *An Engagement to deliver up the K. of* Scotland. 440.

IT appears by this Act, that *Henry* had lent them 266 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* to enable them to execute this Deſign, and that *Todde* had left him his Son as a Hoſtage for the Security of the Payment. *Money advanc'd by* Henry *to accompliſh it.*

5. *HENRY*'s Ratification of a Treaty concluded at *Caldeſtream Dec.* 21, 1491. for a Truce of five Years; dated *Jan.* 9, 1492. at *Weſtminſter*. *Truce of* 5 *Years with the* Scots. 465.

WE don't find any Ratification by the King of *Scotland*.

6. THE King of *Scotland*'s Ratification of another Treaty concluded at *Caldeſtream Feb.* 20, 1492. for a Truce beginning the ſame Day, and ending on the 20th of *Nov.* 1492. dated *March* 18, 1492. at *Edinburgh*. *Other Truces.* 473.

7. A Treaty of Truce betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, from *Nov.* 3, 1492. to *April* 30, 1494. dated *Nov.* 3, at *Caldeſtream*. 494.

8. A Commiſſion to treat with the King of *Scotland* about his Marriage with *Catherine*, Daughter of the Counteſs of *Wilts*, and Granddaughter to *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, who was *Matchpropos'd to the K. of* Scotland. 529.

H. VII. *Henry*'s Uncle; dated *May* 28, 1493. at *Weſtminſter*.

THIS was only one of *Henry*'s Projects, which came to nothing.

Truce with the Scots. 534. 9. A Treaty of Truce betwixt *England* and *Scotland* to laſt from the 30th of *April* 1494. to the ſame Day of the Year 1501. dated at *Edinburgh June* 25, 1493.

BY this Treaty, *Henry* oblig'd himſelf to pay the King of *Scots* 1000 Marks *Sterling*, as Reparation for certain Damage. He alſo engag'd himſelf by word of Mouth to remit to him above 50 *l. Sterling*.

Paſsports for the Scots *Ambaſſadors.* 10. SEVERAL ſafe Conducts for the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland*, granted in the Year 1494.

THERE is ſome probability that the King of *Scotland*, having been brib'd by the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, began to pick a Quarrel with *Henry*; that he might have a pretence for breaking the Truce.

Precaution againſt the Scots. 568. 11. AN Order to prepare for a Defence againſt the Invaſion of the *Scots*; dated *March* 22, 1495. at *Weſtminſter*.

THE King of *Scotland* did not break the Truce till next Year, but probably *Henry* ſaw what his Demands wou'd come to.

Commiſſions to treat with King James *about his marrying* Henry's *Daughter.* 572. 12. A Commiſſion to *Richard Fox* to treat of the Marriage of *Margaret* the King's eldeſt Daughter, with *James* IV. King of *Scotland*; dated *June* 23, 1495. at *Weſtminſter*.

PERKIN Warbeck having been already in *Ireland*, and perhaps too in *Scotland*, there's ſome probability that *Henry*'s View in this Propoſal was to hinder King *James* from giving him ſhelter in his Dominions. Nevertheleſs it does not appear that the ſaid Marriage was propos'd at that time.

13. ANO-

13. ANOTHER Commiſſion of the like Nature to the ſame Perſon; dated *Sept.* 2, 1496. at *Weſtminſter.* *A.* 1499. 635.

THIS was juſt at the time of the Invaſion by the King of *Scotland*, and the Rebellion in *Cornwal.*

14. AN Order to raiſe Troops againſt the Invaſion of the *Scots*; dated *Feb.* 13, 1497. at *Weſtminſter.* *Order to raiſe Troops againſt the* Scots *Invaders.* 647.

THE King of *Scotland* threaten'd to return into *England*, as he actually did this Year, and there beſieg'd *Norham.*

15. *HENRY*'s Letters Patent, whereby he conſents that his Differences with the King of *Scotland* be determin'd by the Judgment of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* King and Queen of *Spain*; dated *Dec.* 13, 1497. at *Weſtminſter.* Henry *conſents to refer his Diſpute with the* Scots *to Arbitration.* 671.

THIS was in purſuance of the Treaty concluded at *Ayton* the 30th of *September* 1497. by the Mediation of Don *Pedro d' Ayala.*

16. THE King of *Scotland*'s Ratification of the Treaty concluded at *Ayton* the 30th of *Sept.* 1497. dated *Feb.* 10, 1498. at *St. Andrews.* *Treaty of* Ayton. 673.

THIS Treaty which, among other things, contains a Truce for 7 Years, is inſerted at full length in the Ratification.

17. A Commiſſion to treat with the King of *Scotland*; dated *July* 6, 1499. at *Weſtminſter.* *Commiſſion to treat with the King of* Scots 721.

THIS was after the Quarrel at *Norham.*

18. A Treaty concluded at *Sterling* on the 12th of *July*, for prolonging the Truce during the Lives of the two Kings, and a Year after the Death of the laſt Survivor: Together with the King of *Scotland*'s Ratification of it: dated *July* 20, 1499. at *Sterling-Caſtle.* *Treaty at* Sterling. 722. *The Commiſſion for the Marriage Treaty of* Henry's *Daughter.* 729.

19. A Commiſſion to *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Durham*, to treat of a Marriage between the King's Daughter and the King of *Scotland*; dated

H. VII. dated *Sept.* 11, 1499. at the Caſtle of *Wincheſter*.

'Twas now, and not before, that the Treaty for this Marriage commenc'd.

Pope's Diſpenſation for the Marriage. 765.

20. A Bull of Diſpenſation for the King of *Scotland*'s Marriage with *Margaret*; dated the 5th of the Calends of *Auguſt* 1500. at *Rome*.

21. A Commiſſion from the King of *Scotland* to contract in his Name *per verba de Futuro, vel Præſenti*, and to ſettle the Terms of the Contract; dated *Octob.* 8, 1501.

The Marriage Treaty. 787.

22. *JAMES* the IVth's Marriage Treaty with *Margaret*; dated *Jan.* 24, 1502. in the Royal Palace at *Richmond*.

MARGARET being not full 12 Years of Age till the 29th of *November* 1501, it was ſtipulated that *Henry* ſhou'd not be oblig'd to ſend her to the King of *Scotland* before the firſt of *September* 1503.

Her Jointure was to be as great as any Queen of *Scotland* ever had, not leſs than 2000 *l. Sterling per Annum* in Land. And ſhe was to have during the Life of the King her Husband, a Penſion of 500 Marks *Sterling*.

Her Portion was 30000 Nobles *Engliſh Money*, and ſhe was at Liberty to keep 24 *Engliſh* Domeſticks Men and Women.

The Treaty of perpetual Peace with Scotland. 793.

23. The Treaty of perpetual Peace betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; dated *January* 24, 1502. as above.

K. James's Oath to obſerve it. 804.

24. The Oath ſign'd by the King of *Scotland*, by which he promis'd to obſerve the Peace concluded with *Henry* VII. King of *England* and *France*; dated *Feb.* 22, 1502, at *Edinburgh*.

The

A. 1502.

The Acts relating to Scotland *in the* XIIIth *Volume of the* Fœdera *are,*

1. A Letter from the King of *Scotland* to *Henry*; dated *July* 12, 1502. at *Edinburgh.* *K. of Scotland's Letter to King Henry about his Alliance with Fr.* 12.

HENRY had desir'd him to break his Alliance with *France*, or at least to defer the renewing of it: To which *James* makes Answer, that for his sake he will defer it, tho 'twas contrary to his Treaties with *France.*

2. AN authentick Instrument of the Oath taken by the King of *Scotland*, in presence of the *English* Ambassadors, for observing the Peace; dated *Dec.* 10, 1502. at *Glasgow.* *The Instrument of K. James's Oath.* 43.

IT appears by this Act that the King of *Scotland* retracted the Title of King of *France*, which he had, he says, for want of due Attention, given to the King of *England* in the written Oath.

3. SEVERAL Acts relating to the preceding Treaties of Marriage and Peace, follow in the Year 1503. *Acts relating to the foresaid Treaties.*

4. THE Settlement of the Queen of *Scotland*'s Jointure; dated *May* 24, 1503. at *Edinburgh.* *Q. of Scotland's Settlement.* 62.

5. THE *Scots* Parliament's Confirmation of the Jointure settled on the Queen; dated *March* 13, 1504. at *Edinburgh.*

6. AN Order for paying to the King of *Scotland* the remainder of his Queen's Portion; dated *July* 9, 1505. at *Westminster.* *Order for the Payment of all her Portion.* 118.

The Acts in the XIIth *Volume of the* Fœdera, *which have no dependency on the three foregoing Articles are,*

1. A Treaty of perpetual Peace with *John* King of *Denmark*; dated *August* 6, 1489. at *Westminster.* *Treaty with Denmark.* 374.

2. THE

H. VII.

2. THE Act for renewing of the perpetual Peace with *Portugal*; dated *Aug.* 18, 1489. at *Windſor-Caſtle.*

With Portugal 378.

3. TREATY of Commerce with the Republick of *Florence*; dated *April* 15, 1490. at the Manor of *Shene.*

With Florence 389.

4. A Letter from *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria*, the King of *Sicily*'s Son, to King *Henry*, thanking him for the Order of the Garter; dated *May* 19, 1493. at *Sueſſa.*

D. of Calabria's *Thanks to* Henry *for the Garter.* 528.

5. *HENRY*'s Notification to *Charles* VIII. that *Frederick* King of *Sicily* and his Son *Alphonſo* deſire to be included in the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Treaty; dated *Nov.* 17, 1493. at *Weſtminſter.*

K. of Sicily *and his Son deſire to be included in the Treaty of* Eſtaples. 552.

6. A Treaty of perpetual Peace, Friendſhip, Alliance and Commerce between *Henry* VII. and *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtria*, Sovereign of the *Netherlands*; dated *Dec.* 14, 1496. at *Bruſſels.*

Treaty with the Netherlands. 578.

THIS is the Treaty which the *Flemings* call'd *Intercurſus magnus* *, or the great Treaty of Commerce.

Free-fiſhing eſtabliſh'd betwixt the two Nations. 583.

AMONG other Articles there's one which expreſly ſtipulates, that the Fiſhermen of both Nations ſhall have the Liberty of fiſhing wheresoever they pleaſe, without Licence or Paſsport.

Treaty with Riga. 701.

7. TREATY with the Town of *Riga*, relating to certain Veſſels taken by the *Engliſh*; dated *Nov.* 26, 1498. at *Weſtminſter.*

K. of Sicily's *Approbation of his being included in the Treaty of* Eſtaples. 720.

8. LETTERS Patent of *Frederick* King of *Sicily*, whereby he approves of his being included by *Henry* in the number of his Allies, at the

* THE Lord *Verulam* ſays, they gave it this Name becauſe it was a more compleat Treaty than thoſe of the Third and Fourth Years of this King; and chiefly to diſtinguiſh it from the Treaty that follow'd it in the 21ſt Year of the ſame Reign, which they call'd *Intercurſus Malus.*

renew-

renewing of the Treaty of *Eſtaples* with *Lewis* XII. dated at *Naples June* 20, 1499. *A.* 1506.

9. TREATY of Alliance with the Biſhop of *Liege*; dated *Jan.* 12, 1502. *Treaty with the Biſhop of* Liege 784.

The other Independent Acts of chief Note in this Reign, which we find in the XIIIth *Volume of the* Fœdera *are,*

1. *HENRY*'s full Power to his Ambaſſadors, to engage that he ſhou'd ſend a free Gift of Money to *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*, for a War againſt the *Turks*; dated at *Weſtminſter May* 27, 1502. Henry's *Offer of Money to the K. of* Hungary. 4, 5.

2. KING *Ferdinand*'s Letter to *Henry* in the *Spaniſh* Tongue, acquainting him with the Death of Queen *Iſabel*, who dy'd the ſame Day, *viz. Nov.* 26, 1504. dated from *Medina del Campo*. Q. Iſabel's *Death.* 112.

FERDINAND acquaints *Henry* that his deceaſed Queen has appointed him Governour of the Kingdom of *Caſtile* for *Joan* their Daughter.

3. A Treaty of Alliance with *George* Duke of *Saxony*, Hereditary Governour of *Frieſland*; dated *Dec.* 13, 1505. at *Dreſden*. *Treaty with the D. of* Saxony. 120.

4. A Treaty of Commerce between *England* and the *Netherlands*, concluded at *London April* 30, 1506. *With the* Netherlands 132.

PHILIP was at that time in *England*. This is the Treaty, if I am not miſtaken, to which the *Flemings* gave the Nickname of *Intercurſus Malus*.

THEY that are curious to ſee how the Affairs of Commerce ſtood betwixt *England* and the *Netherlands*, may find ſeveral Treaties in the XIIth and XIIIth Volumes of the *Fœdera*, which *State of Commerce with the* Netherlands.

H. VII. which are capable of giving them very great Light into that Subject.

Appointment of a Director of the Course of Exchange.

5. A Patent appointing *Peter Corsi*, a *Florentine*, to be Director of the Course of Exchange in *England*, on paying the King 240 *l.* a Year. dated *March* 17, 1508. at *Westminster*.

216. HAVING now quite gone thro' the XIIth Volume of the *Fœdera*, as we enter the XIIIth, we cannot overlook Mr. *Rymer*'s Dedication of it to Queen *Anne*, which is as follows.

'THIS Volume, Most excellent Sovereign, 'contains in Course of Time, the Period of 'One and twenty Years, seven Years the last 'in the Reign of *your most Noble Progenitor King* 'Henry VII. and twice seven which next follow in the beginning of that most victorious 'Reign of his Son and Successor King *Henry* 'VIII.

'WE see the Annuities, and the stipulated 'Payments duly made and accounted for, and 'when *Christendom* is invaded by the *Infidels*, 'Confederacies are made with the Emperor, 'and with the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, 'for the Defence of *Christendom*. The Enemy 'being in remote and so far distant Countries, 'King *Henry* VII. wou'd not harrass his *English* 'Armies with so long a March: But that '*wise Prince* did freely contribute his Quota in 'Money; he sends his *Nobles*, his *Angels*, and 'the *Sovereigns* of Gold, for his Auxiliary *Troops* 'against the *Turk* and *Mahometan*.

'NO sooner did your most redoubted Predecessor King *Henry* VIII. ascend the Throne, 'but he is sollicited for Aid against the *Moors*, 'and his first Operations of War are on that 'side, in Conjunction with *King* Ferdinand *the* 'Catholick. Soon after this, Enemies nearer

'Home

'Home gave Umbrage to the *Church*, and now *A.* 1523.
'it is that our Civil Negociations, and our
'Warlike Preparations, are all in order to
'*defend the Church.* Commiſſions iſſue out for
'Admirals and Vice Admirals, Generals and
'Lieutenant Generals, for the *Defence of the*
'*Church:* And the *Proclamations* tell us, that
'the King *hath now, by God's Grace, decreed and*
'*fully determin'd, in his own moſt Noble Perſon, to*
'*paſs over the Sea with his Armies Royal, againſt*
'*his antient Enemy* Lewis *the* French *King and*
'*his Adherents.*

'OUR next News is that famous Action,
'the memorable Day, ever ſince call'd *La*
'*Journee d' Eſperons*, the Battle of *Spurs.*

'THEN follow'd the beſieging and taking
'of Towns, *Theroan*, *Tournay*, and the other
'Places in that Territory, which make ſome
'part of *your Majeſty's late Conqueſts.*

'THENCE forward this Reign proceeded
'in great Proſperity and Magnificence, and,
'by Reaſon of his more particular Care and
'Readineſs to protect the Church, it is now,
'in moſt ſolemn manner decreed, That in
'Teſtimony of their Gratitude and Acknow-
'ledgment, the Title *Defender of the Faith*
'ſhould be a Title for King *Henry* VIII. and
'his Succeſſors, *&c.*

THERE is ſuch a Connection between Domeſtick and Foreign Hiſtory, with regard to the principal Events which happen'd in *Europe*, in the beginning of the 16th Century, that the remainder of the XIIIth Volume of the *Fœdera*, which includes the Acts of the firſt fourteen Years of *Henry* VIII. *viz.* from *April* 1504, to the middle of the Year 1523, is better ſtor'd than moſt of the preceding Volumes with curious and uſeful Pieces, which relate not only to

H. VIII. the Hiſtory of *England*, but to thoſe of *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*. *England* had likewiſe ſomething to do with *Scotland* in this Period, of which I ſhall make a ſeparate Article. But as theſe 14 Years produc'd nothing very remarkable in Domeſtick Affairs, the Acts which refer to that Head having no dependency on each other, will not need to be explain'd.

Article I. *Foreign Affairs.*

League of Cambray *againſt the* Venetians.

The League of *Cambray* may be reckon'd the Spring of the principal Events in *Europe*, during the firſt 14 Years of *Henry* VIII. Tho the Hiſtory of it is ſufficiently known, eſpecially ſince it was publiſh'd in the *French* Tongue, it will not be unneceſſary to mention ſome of the Circumſtances of it, to ſerve as a Foundation for what I have to ſay hereafter. This League was form'd in 1508, againſt the Republick of *Venice*. The chief Allies were Pope *Julius* II. the Emperor *Maximilian* I. *Lewis* XII. King of *France* and Duke of *Milan*, and *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, and Adminiſtrator of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*. The Views of each of thoſe Princes in the War which they deſign'd to make upon the *Venetians* were briefly theſe.

The Views of the ſeveral Powers who form'd it.

JULIUS II. had a Deſign to reunite to the Church all the Dominions which had been alienated from it during the Wars of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. He had already begun in 1506 to make himſelf abſolute Maſter in *Bologna*, after he had expell'd the *Bentavoglios*, who had uſurp'd that Dominion: And to him it was owing that the Duke of *Urbino* had adopted *Francis Mary* of *Rovero*, who was Nephew to both of them, and by that means came to be Duke of *Urbino*.

Pro-



KING HENRY THE VIII.TH


BRITISH
MUSEUM

Probably he deſign'd to form for that Nephew a Dominion, to be compos'd of thoſe Towns which he had a mind to reunite to the Church. This was the very Project that *Alexander* VI. had contriv'd in favour of his Baſtard Son *Cæſar Borgia*, and which only miſcarry'd thro' the unexpected Death of that Pope. To bring this Deſign to bear, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to take *Ferrara* from the Duke of that Name, to diſpoſſeſs the *Venetians* of *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, and *Rimini*, and to diſlodge other Princes and Lords from the other Towns of *Romagna*. But as this could not be done, while on the one hand the *Venetians*, and on the other *Lewis* XII. who was Maſter of the Duchy of *Milan*, were in a condition to oppoſe his Aggrandiſement, he reſolv'd therefore to ruin the *Venetians* firſt, and then to drive the *French* out of *Italy*. *A.* 1509.

MAXIMILIAN's View was to ſeize the Towns the *Venetians* poſſeſs'd in the *Terra Firma*, viz. *Treviſa*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, and *Padua*, which formerly belong'd to the Emperors. And after he had once ſettled himſelf in that Country, his Deſign was to drive the *French* out of *Milan*, and re-eſtabliſh the Imperial Authority over all *Italy*, on the ſame footing as formerly. For this end he knew he muſt begin with the *Venetians*.

LEWIS XII. had ſome Years ago taken the Duchy of *Milan* from *Lewis Sforza*, who had alſo the misfortune to fall into his Hands. As in order to make that Conqueſt, he concluded a League with the *Venetians*; he conſented by the ſaid Teaty, that they ſhou'd make themſelves Maſters of *Cremona*, and all the Country call'd *Giradadda*. But he was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Milan*,

H. VIII. than he resolv'd to pick a Quarrel with the *Venetians*, that he might have a pretence to rob them not only of what he had yielded to them by the Treaty, but of the other Towns which they had acquir'd from the old Dukes of *Milan*, as *Crema*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and some others of less importance. And 'twas with this Design that he form'd the League of *Cambray*, of which he may be reckon'd as it were the chief Contriver.

FERDINAND's two principal Views in entring into this League, were in the first place that *Lewis* XII. might have his Hands too full to undertake the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he had been turn'd out of by a notorious Fraud: And secondly, to recover five Maritime Towns of that Kingdom, which a King of *Naples* had made over to the *Venetians* as a Security.

The Allies take the Field, and rout the Venetians *at* Agnadel.

In pursuance of this League, the Armies of the Allies took the Field in the Month of *April* 1509, upon the *Adda*, in *Lombardy* and *Romagna*, and in a few days *Lewis* XII. gain'd the famous Victory of *Agnadel* or *Giradadda* *, in which the Army of the *Venetians* was put to the rout. After this, all the *Venetian* Towns except *Trevisa* carry'd their Keys to the Conqueror. He kept all those to himself which had formerly belong'd to the Dukes of *Milan*, and sent away the Deputies of the other Towns to the Emperor, who was then with a few Troops at *Trent*; and tho he had no share in the Victory, took possession of *Vicenza*, *Verona* and *Padua*. On the other hand, the Pope seiz'd *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, and *Rimini*; the Duke of *Ferrara* laid

* 'Tis also call'd the Battle of *Rivolta*, because fought as near that place as to *Giradadda*.

hold of *Rovigo* and the *Poleſin*, and *Friuli* ſubmitted to the Emperor. And thus was the State of *Venice* reduc'd all at once to the only two Towns of *Venice* and *Treviſa*. *A.* 1510.

JULIUS II. was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the Towns which he coveted from the *Venetians*, but he thought of driving the *French* out of *Italy*, that he might be able to put his other Deſigns in Execution. The Undertaking ſeem'd very difficult, yet he did not deſpair of Succeſs. The Scheme he form'd was this. 1. He reſolv'd upon an Accommodation with the *Venetians*, who were no longer in a condition to hurt him, and afterwards to make a League with them againſt *France*. 2. To procure a Peace between *Venice* and the Emperor, in order to draw off that Prince from the Intereſt of *Lewis* XII. 3. To get the *Swiſſers* to invade the Duchy of *Milan*. 4. To bring *Ferdinand* into the League. And 5. To engage *Henry* VIII. the new King of *England*, to break with *France*, and to make a powerful Diverſion in *Picardy*. *The Pope's Reſolution and Scheme to turn the* French *out of* Italy.

His Peace and League with the *Venetians* were not the moſt difficult things to attain to; the ſame being concluded about the beginning of the Year 1510. But as to the Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, it was not poſſible for the Pope to bring it about; nevertheleſs he went ſo far in it at length, that the Emperor abandon'd *Lewis* XII. And as to the *Swiſſers*, *Matthew Skinner* Biſhop of *Sion*, who was the Pope's chief Agent in that Country, made ſo proper a Uſe of the Intereſt he had among them, that he render'd them mortal Enemies to *France*. King *Ferdinand* did not require abundance of ſollicitation to join with the Pope and the *Venetians*; for he found three *His League with the* Venetians. *His Agent incenſes the* Swiſs *againſt the* French. Ferdinand *enters into the League with the Pope and* Venetians *againſt* Fr.

H. VIII. three conſiderable Advantages in this League. 1. By embarraſſing *Lewis* XII. he hinder'd him from thinking of the Conqueſt of *Naples*. 2. The Pope offer'd him the Inveſtiture of *Naples* upon Terms which he wou'd never hearken to till then. And laſtly, The *Venetians* were willing to reſtore him the five Towns of that Kingdom, of which they were Maſters, provided he wou'd engage in the League. Yet this Prince, who was to the full as ſedate as *Julius* II was haſty, wou'd not ſign the League till he was ſure of Aſſiſtance from the King of *England*. Mean time it did not ſeem an eaſy Task to engage *Henry* to break with *Lewis* XII. for the ſake of the *Italian* Powers; for he had but lately renew'd the Peace with him, and *Lewis* had all along regularly paid the Sums to which he was engag'd by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*. But *Ferdinand*, a Prince of the greateſt Abilities of any in his Age, and at the ſame time one that was not over and above ſcrupulous, found means at length to engage *Henry* to break with *France*, tho not till the Year 1512. As what happen'd in *Italy*, in the two preceding Years, furniſh'd him with the opportunity he wanted, 'tis neceſſary juſt to mention it.

Draws off K. Henry *from* Fran.

Pope quarrels with the D. of Ferrara.

JULIUS II. after he had ſign'd his League with the Republick of *Venice*, pick'd a Quarrel with the Duke of *Ferrara*, that he might have an opportunity to turn him out of his Duchy; and went himſelf to *Bologna*, on purpoſe to make all neceſſary Preparations there for the Siege of *Ferrara*. But he narrowly miſs'd falling into the Hands of *Chaumont* the Governour of *Milan*, who had Orders to ſupport the Duke. The Pope made a great Noiſe of this Inſult, and wou'd fain have perſuaded

all *Europe* that *Lewis* XII. attack'd him for no cauſe at all, tho he himſelf did all that lay in his Power to ſet all the Chriſtian Princes upon his Back. He had endeavour'd once before, to take *Genoa* from him by ſurpriſe; and he made a ſecond attempt, but cou'd not ſucceed. He try'd to ſet the Emperor at variance with him, and 10000 *Swiſs* were already on the march to invade the Duchy of *Milan*; but they found the Avenues ſo well guarded that they were forc'd to return. Yet all this while the Pope pretended that *Lewis* was the Aggreſſor, becauſe he wou'd not let him turn out the poor Duke of *Ferrara*. *Lewis* being attack'd by the Pope without having given him any Provocation, made a more ſtrict League with the Emperor; and both together having corrupted ſome of the Cardinals, ſummon'd a General Council at *Piſa*, where they were for depoſing the Pope *. But

A. 1510.

Falls upon the King of France.

Council of Piſa.

* THE Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, who has left us that accurate Hiſtory of this Reign, in which he has happily conquer'd the difficulty he complain'd of, *viz. To draw the exact Likeneſs of a Perſon who had ſeveral Countenances*, and who gain'd as great Reputation by writing the Life of this Prince, as Lord *Verulam* did by penning that of his Father, is the Hiſtorian to whom we ſhall chiefly have recourſe whereever it may be neceſſary, to ſupply the Dates of any Tranſaction wanting in Mr. *Rapin*'s Abridgment. The Noble Hiſtorian ſays, that this Council was ſummon'd to be held the 1ſt of *Sept.* 1511. and that the Pope was cited to it, tho we don't find that he appear'd there. A certain Writer, who quotes *Onuphrius*'s Life of this Pope, ſays, that tho he us'd means to take off the Emperor, yet *Lewis* perſiſted, and caus'd certain Medals to be coin'd with this Inſcription on ſome of them, *Perdam Babylonem, I will deſtroy* Babylon; and on others, *perdam Babylonis nomen, I will deſtroy the Name of* Babylon. By which as 'tis plain he meant *Rome*, 'tis evident that the Notion of its being *Babylon*, is neither new, nor invented by Proteſtants,

H. VIII. But this Council, at which there were no Biſhops preſent, beſides a few *French* and *Milaneſe*, was at laſt oblig'd to remove to *Milan*, and from thence to *Lyons*, without doing any thing of moment. Mean time the Pope excommunicated all the Members of it and their Adherents, and ſummon'd a Council which was to meet at *Rome* in the Church of St. *John Lateran* the 19th of *April* 1512.

Excommunicated by the Pope, who calls one to Rome.

The Pope goes to Bologna *to prepare for the Siege of* Ferrara.

BEFORE that time came, the Pope who continued in his Reſolution to beſiege *Ferrara*, went once more to *Bologna* to make Preparations there for that Siege. His Army and that of the *Venetians* lay encamp'd very near *Bologna*; and he only defer'd entring upon Action, becauſe he waited for a Reinforcement which he expected under *Raymond de Cardona*, Viceroy of *Naples*. But during this, *Trivulce* who commanded at *Milan* for the King of *France*, advancing towards *Bologna*, the Pope found the Inhabitants diſpos'd to open their Gates to him, and therefore made haſte away; whereupon the *Bentivoglios*, whom *Trivulce* brought with him, immediately enter'd the City. The Confederate Army of the Pope and the *Venetians* hearing of this News fled in Confuſion, and left their Baggage and Artillery in the Power of the Citizens of *Bologna*.

His flight upon the approach of the French.

Ferdinand *works underhand to bring* Hen. *into the League againſt* Fra.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in *Italy*, the King of *Arragon* was impatient for bringing *Henry* VIII. into the League of the Pope and the *Venetians*; for he was not in-

ſtants. He adds, that the Pope was ſo much offended at it, that by his Bull he took away the Title of Moſt Chriſtian from the *French* King, and offer'd the ſame to King *Henry* VIII. as was obſerv'd in our Note, p. 63. of this Volume.

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clin'd to engage himſelf in it, before he was ſure of aſſiſtance from that Prince, his Son-in-Law, and very good Friend. He did not directly make a Propoſal to *Henry* to enter into the League, and on the contrary feign'd a perfect indifferency with regard to the Affairs of *Italy*; but by repreſenting *Lewis* XIIth's Power in a formidable manner to *Henry*, he diſpos'd him by little and little to break with him. The Pope did all on his part that he cou'd to gain *Henry*'s Friendſhip by his extraordinary Civilities to *Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *York*, to whom he alſo gave a Cardinal's Hat *. He profeſs'd an extraordinary eſteem for the King upon all occaſions, and ſent him a Golden Roſe conſecrated upon *Chriſtmas*-Day, as a ſpecial Mark of the Regard he had for him. The *Venetians* alſo had an Ambaſſador at *London* for the ſame purpoſe. They and the Pope acted directly, but *Ferdinand* was ſtill upon the Reſerve, and contented himſelf in terrifying *Henry* with the too great Power of *France*: Nevertheleſs he prepar'd a Fleet and an Army in *Spain*, as if on purpoſe for the War with the *Moors* in *Africa*. At length, on pretence that he was afraid of a Diverſion from *France* while he ſhou'd be employ'd in this Expedition; he had the cunning to perſuade *Henry* to make a defenſive League with him, which contain'd a mutual Engagement to aſſiſt one another with all their Forces, in caſe either of them ſhou'd be attack'd, and particularly if the King of *France* was the Aggreſſor. The better to convince him of the ſincerity of his Intentions touching the War of *Africa*, he deſir'd him to ſend him 1000

A. 1511.

Bambridge *ABp of* York *made a Cardinal.*

Ferdinand *perſuades* Henry *into a League with him*;

* Lord *Herbert* ſays, he obtain'd it in *March* 1511.

H. VIII. *Engliſh* Archers for his Aſſiſtance; which was immediately granted. 'Tis natural to ſuppoſe that *Ferdinand*'s Aim in concluding this League, was to ſecure his Kingdom of *Naples* in caſe *Lewis* ſhou'd have a mind to attack it; but 'tis not ſo eaſy to perceive what Advantage *Henry* cou'd propoſe from it.

The Loſs of *Bologna* during that time, while the Confederate Army of the Pope and *Venetians* was broke and diſpers'd, reduc'd the Affairs of the Allies to a very ſad paſs; and *Ferdinand* did not think he cou'd excuſe himſelf any longer from ſigning the League, leſt the Pope and the *Venetians* ſhou'd clap up a Peace with *France*. But before he proceeded ſo far, he play'd one of his old Tricks, by laying a Trap for his own Son-in-Law, in which that young unexperienc'd Prince was unwarily caught. Firſt he told him of a Scheme he had concerted with the Pope and the *Venetians* to make a League together, and to bring a powerful Army into the Field to drive the *French* out of *Genoa* and *Milan*. And then he repreſented to him, that as *Lewis* XII. wou'd be oblig'd to ſend all his Forces into *Italy*, and to leave his Kingdom defenceleſs, there wou'd be nothing in the World more eaſy than to take *Guienne* from him, becauſe he did not dream of being attack'd on that ſide. He added, that for his own part he had no pretenſion to *Guienne*, but that nevertheleſs out of pure Affection to his Son-in-Law, he was willing to aſſiſt him in that Conqueſt, which in all appearance cou'd not miſcarry. *Henry* thought this Project ſo well contriv'd, that without any Heſitation he accepted of his Father-in-Law's Propoſal.

A. 1511.

As ſoon as *Ferdinand* had receiv'd the Anſwer from *England*, he gave Orders to his Ambaſſador at *Rome* to ſign the League with the Pope and *Venetians*, and at the ſame time ſent Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador at *London* to conclude a private Treaty with *Henry* concerning the Conqueſt of *Guienne*. There was not above ſix Weeks ſpace between the two Treaties. For the firſt was ſign'd at *Rome* the 4th of *October*, and the ſecond at *London* the 17th of *November* 1511. By the latter *Henry* only engag'd to ſend 6000 Men into the Province of *Guipuſcoa* under a good General, and to keep a Fleet at Sea. And *Ferdinand* undertook to do all the reſt.

And into a private Treaty for the Conqueſt of Guienne.

ACCORDING to this Treaty, in the Month of *May* 1512. *Henry* ſent 6000 Men to *Spain*, under the Command of the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*. Not many days after the Arrival of the *Engliſh*, the Duke of *Alva* put himſelf at the Head of the *Spaniſh* Army; but inſtead of coming to join the *Engliſh*, to form the Siege of *Bayonne*, as had been reſolv'd on, he kept at *Logrogno* upon the Frontiers of *Navarre*, and ſent word to the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, that he thought it convenient, before they engag'd in any Siege, to make the King of *Navarre* declare who he wou'd be for. He ſupported this with a very plauſible Reaſon, That this Prince being an Ally of the King of *France*, might play them ſome unlucky Trick, and cut off their Proviſions while they lay before *Bayonne*. The Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, who did not penetrate into the Duke of *Alva*'s meaning, approv'd of this Thought; and the King of *Navarre* was accordingly ſummon'd on the part of the Confederates to declare himſelf. He anſwer'd, that it was his Intention to continue

Marqueſs of Dorſet *ſent with an Army into* Spain.

The K. of Navarre *ſummon'd to declare himſelf.*

H. VIII. tinue neuter; but the Duke of *Alva* not thinking this a ſufficient Declaration, demanded four of his beſt Places for his Security. Upon the King's refuſal, the Duke pretended that he cou'd not in Prudence go to *Fontarabia*, and leave the Dominions of the King his Maſter expos'd to the Inſults of the King of *Navarre*, who might eaſily receive in his Kingdom the Duke of *Longueville*, juſt then arriv'd from *Bayonne*: That for this Reaſon he cou'd not excuſe himſelf from taking his Rout thro' *Navarre*, and making ſure of ſome places in that Kingdom. He alſo deſir'd the *Engliſh* General to come and join him, to facilitate the Execution of his Deſign; but the Marqueſs refus'd it, becauſe he had no Orders to act againſt the King of *Navarre*. Therefore the Duke of *Alva* enter'd the Kingdom alone, and beſieg'd *Pampeluna*. After the taking of that place, he made himſelf Maſter of ſome others; while the *Engliſh*, without knowing it, favour'd his Deſigns, by keeping the *French* at a Bay, and by hindring them from relieving *Navarre*, for fear of being hedg'd in between two Armies. In a word, the Duke of *Alva* ſoon made a Conqueſt of the whole Kingdom. The Marqueſs of *Dorſet* at length perceiving the Artifices of the King of *Arragon*, return'd to *England*. Conſequently, thoſe 6000 *Engliſh*, who were to conquer *Guyenne* with the aſſiſtance of *Ferdinand*'s Troops, only ſerv'd to aſſiſt him in the taking of *Navarre*, which he and his Succeſſors the Kings of *Spain* have kept ever ſince. *Henry* was ſenſible that he had been trick'd, but diſſembled his Reſentment, leſt the three Allies, after having engag'd him to break with *France*, ſhou'd make a Peace without him, the rather becauſe the ſucceſs

D. of Alva *conquers* Navarre.

Marqueſs of Dorſet *returns home.*

ſucceſs of Affairs in *Italy* ſeem'd to make it neceſſary for them. *A.* 1512.

DURING this ſame Campaign, great Revolutions happen'd in that Country. The Confederate Army of the Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians*, having form'd the Siege of *Bologna*; *Gaſton de Foix*, who commanded the *French* Army, forc'd them to raiſe it. He afterwards beat the *Venetians* at *Breſcia*, and on the 11th of *April* defeated the Confederates at *Ravenna*, where he loſt his Life after he had gain'd the Victory. But in the Month of *September* following, 16000 *Swiſſers* march'd into *Italy*; and inſtead of taking the direct Road of *Milan*, they went by the way of *Trent*, thro' which the Emperor, with whom the Pope had been ſecretly tampering, gave them Paſſage, notwithſtanding his Alliance with *Lewis* XII. after which they join'd the *Venetian* Army, and march'd to *Milan*. The *French* were before very weak there, and became ſtill weaker by the Order the Emperor ſent at the ſame time to his Troops, which ſerv'd as Auxiliaries in the Army of *France*, to return home forthwith. For this Reaſon, the *French* being not in a condition to make Reſiſtance, abandon'd *Milan*, and repaſs'd the Mountains. The Loſs of the *Milaneſe* drew along with it that of *Bologna*, *Parma*, *Piacenza* and *Reggio*, which ſurrender'd to the Pope. On the other hand, the Duchy of *Milan* was reſtor'd to *Maximilian Sforza*; the Houſe of *Medicis* was again put in poſſeſſion of *Florence*, and the Emperor ſolemnly renounc'd the Council of *Piſa*, which by the defeat of the *French* was oblig'd to remove to *Lyons*.

French *force the Confederates to raiſe the Siege of* Bologna.

Win the Battle of Ravenna.

French *abandon the* Milaneſe.

AFTER

H. VIII. After the *French* were drove out of *Italy*, the Allies had ſeveral Conferences together about their Affairs, ſometimes at *Rome*, and at other times at *Mantua*. The Pope was reſolv'd above all things, whatever it coſt him, to accommodate the *Venetians* with the Emperor, leſt that Prince ſhou'd engage again with *France*: but he propos'd ſuch hard Terms to them, that they cou'd never agree to accept them. For this reaſon he undertook to force them, by making an Alliance with the Emperor againſt them. In all theſe Conferences the Allies thought no more of the King of *England*'s Intereſt, than as if there had been no ſuch Prince in the World.

Pope makes a League with the Emperor againſt the Venetians.

The Cardinal *Bambridge*, who had been admitted to all the Councils held before the League of *Rome*, was never ſo much as once call'd to theſe Conferences. *Henry* himſelf knew ſo little of what was doing in *Italy*, that, tho the League of *Rome* no longer ſubſiſted after the Pope had made an Alliance with the Emperor againſt *Venice*, he ſent his Letters Patent by which he declar'd that he came into it. At the ſame time, his Ambaſſadors at ſeveral Courts had Orders to conclude Leagues for procuring a Reſtitution to the Church, of what *France* had taken from it, tho the Pope was actually in poſſeſſion of more than he laid Claim to, when the League of *Rome* was ſign'd.

We have lately ſeen by what happen'd in 1512. how much *Henry* was abus'd by the King his Father-in-Law. Yet this Experience did not make him one jot the wiſer; for in the Year following, *Ferdinand* caught him in another Trap as artfully laid as the former, if

Ferdinand's abuſe of K. Henry.

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one may be allow'd to give the name of Art to one of the moſt egregious Frauds. *A.* 1513.

Pope Julius's Death and Succeſſor.

IN 1513, in the Month of *February*, *Julius* II. dy'd, and in *March* following *Leo* X. of the Family of *Medicis* was elected. This new Pope, being govern'd by very near the ſame Intereſts as his Predeceſſor, declar'd openly againſt *France*, as well to oblige *Lewis* XII. to part with his Council, as to hinder him from ſetting his Foot again in *Italy*. But there was a new turn given to the Intereſts of the King of *Arragon* after he had taken *Navarre*. Before he had made that new Conqueſt, he wou'd have thought the Expulſion of *Lewis* XII. from the *Milaneſe*, and the diſabling him from undertaking the Conqueſt of *Naples*, a Revolution of very great Advantage to him. But after he became Maſter of *Navarre*, it was his Intereſt that *Lewis* ſhou'd get footing in *Italy* and regain the Duchy of *Milan*, leſt he ſhou'd endeavour to reſtore the King of *Navarre*; and at the ſame time it was equally his Intereſt to hinder him from ſucceeding in the Conqueſt of *Milan*. This was the way he went to work for obtaining his Ends.

Ferdinand propoſes a Truce to the K. of France, &c.

IN the firſt place, he ſent a certain Monk privately to *Lewis* XII. to propoſe a Truce to him, into which he undertook to bring the Emperor and the King of *England*. *Lewis* willingly came into it, on condition that *Italy* ſhou'd be excepted out of it; which was the very thing that *Ferdinand* aim'd at. This Affair being in a good way, he caus'd a Repreſentation to be made to *Henry*, in concert with the Pope and the Empire, that the Allies being no longer oblig'd to act on the Defenſive in *Italy*, ſince the *French* were drove out, had reſolv'd to attack *France* in ſeveral places; and that he ought

H. VIII. ought not to ſlip this opportunity of making himſelf Maſter of *Guienne*, *Normandy* or *Picardy*, becauſe it wou'd be impoſſible for the King of *France* to defend himſelf againſt ſo many Enemies, who wou'd attack him from ſeveral Quarters at once. Tho, conſidering the trial which *Henry* had already made of his Father-in-Law's ſincerity, he ought to have ſtood upon his Guard, yet he ſuffer'd himſelf to be tempted by the great Advantages that were propos'd to him. As ſoon as he had given his Approbation of this Scheme, *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſadors gave him to underſtand that ſecrecy was abſolutely neceſſary, the better to ſurprize the Enemy, but that it wou'd be very difficult to keep it if there was a Congreſs of Ambaſſadors in any place whatſoever, for concluding a League: That therefore it wou'd be ſufficient, if under ſome ſpecious Pretext, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Governeſs of the *Netherlands*, who being authoriz'd by the Emperor her Father might conclude the League with them; and that then the Pope and the King of *Arragon* wou'd ratify the Treaty; which wou'd have the ſame Force as if their Ambaſſadors had been there preſent. *Henry* liking this Expedient, ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Mechlin*; and *Ferdinand*, according to the Plan he had form'd, had the ſatisfaction of getting two Treaties directly oppoſite to one another, and yet both equally conducive to his own Ends, ſign'd within four Days one of another. The firſt betwixt him and *Lewis* XII. was ſign'd at *Orthez* in *Bearn* on the firſt of *April*; and the other betwixt the Emperor and *Henry*, on the fifth of the ſame Month at *Mechlin*.

Ferdinand's farther abuſe of K. Hen.

Treaties betwixt Ferdinand *and* Lewis XII. *and betwixt the Emperor and* K. Henry.

The Treaty of *Orthez* ſtipulated that there ſhould be a Truce for a Year betwixt *Lewis* XII. the

the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Guelderland* on the one part, and the Emperor, the King of *England*, the King of *Arragon*, and the Queen of *Caſtile* on the other, but not in *Italy*. It muſt be obſerv'd, that at *Orthez*, there were only the Commiſſioners of *France* and *Arragon*; that *Lewis* XII. ſtood engag'd for the King of *Scotland* and the Duke of *Guelderland*; and that *Ferdinand* undertook to bring the Emperor and the King of *England* into it. But as he well knew that nothing was farther from *Henry*'s Thoughts, he caus'd it to be inſerted in the Treaty, that the two Kings of *France* and *Arragon* ſhou'd be oblig'd to ratify it in a Month, and the other Princes in two Months time; and that the Treaty ſhou'd be of no effect with reſpect to the latter, till the Day of the Exchange of their Ratifications. *A.* 1513.

The other Treaty was ſign'd at *Mechlin* four days after, by *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, in the name of her Father, and by the Ambaſſadors of *England*. It ſtipulated, that in 30 Days after the ſigning of the Treaty, the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the King of *Arragon* ſhou'd declare War againſt *France*, and then act effectually againſt her, *viz.* the Pope in *Provence* or in *Dauphiny*, the Emperor in ſome other Place out of *Italy*, the King of *Arragon* in *Guienne*, in *Bearn*, or in *Languedoc*, and the King of *England* in *Normandy*, or in *Picardy*: And that for aſſiſting the Emperor to raiſe and maintain his Army, the King of *England* ſhou'd remit 100000 Crowns to him at three Terms. It was inſerted in this Treaty as well as in that of *Orthez*, that the Emperor and the King of *England* ſhou'd ratify the Treaty in a Month, and the Pope and the King of *Arragon* in two Months; but that even tho

H. VIII. tho the two latter did not ratify it, the ſame ſhou'd ſubſiſt nevertheleſs betwixt the Emperor and the King of *England*. This very clearly proves that the Emperor well knew what were the Intentions of the Pope and the King of *Arragon*, otherwiſe he wou'd never have thought of getting ſuch a Clauſe inſerted in the Treaty. There is ſtill another Remark to be made upon this Head, *viz.* That the Ratifications of the Pope and the K. of *Arragon* being not to be exchang'd at furtheſt till the 5th of *June*, *Henry* was oblig'd to make all the Preparations for the Campaign, before he knew whether thoſe two pretended Allies wou'd ratify the Treaty; and to begin the War in *Picardy*, without being ſure of the Diverſions which he had been promis'd ſhou'd be made in other places. To bring him compleatly into the Snare, the Ambaſſador, whom *Ferdinand* had at *London*, ratify'd the Treaty of *Mechlin*, and ſwore to the Obſervation of it upon the Souls of the King of *Arragon*, and the Queen of *Caſtile*, by virtue of a full Power which he pretended they had given him. Thus, by theſe two Treaties directly contrary to one another, *Henry*, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand* engag'd themſelves alike in a Truce for one Year with *Lewis* XII. and actually bound themſelves to make War upon him at the ſame time. But *Henry* was a perfect Stranger to the Treaty of *Orthez*, whereas *Ferdinand* knew as much of the one as the other. Therefore it was not without a reaſon that he took care to have both ſign'd at one and the ſame time, in places ſo remote one from the other, and betwixt which there was no Communication.

LEWIS XII. being deceiv'd by the Treaty of *Orthez*, ſent the far greateſt part of his Forces

Forces into *Italy*, under Command of *Lewis de la Tremouille*, who immediately drove *Maximilian Sforza* out of *Milan*, and took the whole Duchy from him except *Como* and *Novara*, which were guarded by the *Swiſſers*. But afterwards going, to attack *Novara*, he was repuls'd in the Aſſault: and next day the *Swiſſers* ſallying out of the place, went and fell upon him in his Camp, put his Army to the Rout, and oblig'd him to repaſs the Mountains and return into *France*. Thus in about a Month's time, *Lewis* won and loſt the whole Duchy of *Milan*. A. 1513.

French K. *loſes the Duchy of* Milan.

At the beginning of *June*, *Henry* tranſported his Army to *Calais*, in order to carry the War into *France*, purſuant to the Treaty of *Mechlin*: and ſome time after, he caus'd *Terouenne* to be beſieg'd, with a deſign to go thither himſelf. But before he ſail'd from *England*, he heard that the Pope had refus'd to ratify the Treaty, and that *Ferdinand* had made a Truce for a Year with *France*, which till then he knew nothing of. He made his Complaints of it to this Prince, and ſent him a Summons to take the Field, in purſuance of the Treaty of *Mechlin*, ratify'd by his Ambaſſador. But *Ferdinand* anſwer'd gravely, that the Ambaſſador had exceeded his Orders; that as to the Truce, the neceſſity of his Affairs had compell'd him to it, but that when it was expir'd, he wou'd make extraordinary Efforts againſt the common Enemy. Notwithſtanding this, *Henry* repair'd to the Siege of *Terouenne*; and not many days after, the Emperor came thither to excuſe himſelf for having not been able to make good his Engagement, promiſing nevertheleſs to perform Wonders next Year.

Siege of Terouenne.

H. VIII. In the mean time, to give *Henry* a particular Proof of his Eſteem, he told him that he was come to ſerve under him as a private Man, and that he wou'd take his Pay. The King was ſo good-natur'd as to accept of his Service, and to give him 100 Crowns a Day, beſides the hundred thouſand Crowns which he had thrown away upon him before. Some days after, *Henry* won the Battle of *Guinegaſte* *, againſt the Duke of *Longueville*, who was there taken Priſoner. Then he made himſelf Maſter of *Terouenne*, and as a reward for the Services he had receiv'd from the Emperor, he deliver'd up the Place to him, which was immediately demoliſh'd. After this, he beſieg'd *Tournay*, which ſurrender'd in a few days.

Emperor ſerves under King Henry, *and takes Pay from him.*

The Battle of Guinegaſte *or the* Spurs.

Terouenne *taken.*

And Tournay.

The ſucceſs of this Campaign, both in *Italy* and *France*, was the ſame thing to *Ferdinand*, as if he had gain'd ſo many Victories, tho his Troops had not contributed to it, becauſe he obtain'd what he propos'd to himſelf, by putting *Lewis* XII. out of a capacity, at leaſt for a time, of attacking *Navarre* or the Kingdom of *Naples*. 'Tis true, that he had not carry'd his Point, had it not been for an errant Cheat; but his Reputation was the leaſt of his Concern: On the other hand, *Maximilian* had gain'd 100000 Crowns by the bare ſigning of a Treaty, which in all appearance he never intended to put in Execution. For this Prince was not a whit more nice of his Honour than *Ferdinand*. He made a kind of Traffick of Treaties, in which he always found

Maximilian *as mercenary as* Ferdinand.

* This was that call'd by the *French*, *la Journée des Eſperons*, or the Battle of *Spurs*, becauſe, ſays Lord *Herbert*, they made uſe ſcarce of any thing elſe. It was fought the 16th of *Auguſt* 1513.

his

his Account, becauſe he never concluded one which did not procure him ſome Money: ſo that the *Italians* by way of banter, gave him the Name of *pochi danari*, or empty Purſe. *A.* 1513.

HENRY, one wou'd think, cou'd not poſſibly be ignorant how much he had been abus'd by his pretended Allies; yet for all this, when the Campaign was over, he went to *Liſle* and concluded a new Treaty with the Emperor, by which he engag'd himſelf to give that Prince 200000 Crowns, that he might have leave to carry home his Army, becauſe by the Treaty of *Mechlin* he was oblig'd to leave it in *Picardy*. The Emperor engag'd on his part to maintain, during the Winter, 10000 Men in *Artois* and *Hainault* for the defence of *Tournay*, and the Dominions of his Grandſon the Archduke. It was alſo ſtipulated by the ſaid Treaty, that the Emperor and *Henry* ſhou'd next Year put themſelves each at the Head of a powerful Army, to attack *France* in two different places; and that before the 15th of *May*, the Archduke ſhou'd repair to *Calais*, there to ſolemnize his Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, *Henry*'s Siſter, according to the Treaty which had been concluded before the Death of *Henry* VII. Henry *makes a new Treaty with him at* Liſle.

IT ſeems that even then, *Henry* was not yet fully convinc'd that he had been bubbled in the Treaty of *Mechlin*; but ere long he was undeceiv'd. The Affairs of *Lewis* XII. being in a bad ſituation, as well by reaſon of the ill ſucceſs of his Arms in *France* and *Italy*, as by the incurſion which the *Swiſſers* made that ſame Year into *Burgundy*, and which render'd him apprehenſive of a ſecond, becauſe he had not kept his word with them, he reſolv'd at laſt to make Peace with the Pope, and to renounce Lewis *makes his Peace with the Pope, who likewiſe exhorts* Henry *to a Peace.*

H. VIII. his Council, or rather Conventicle of Divines. This Peace was no ſooner concluded, but *Leo* X. ſent a Letter to *Henry*, exhorting him to Peace, by repreſenting to him, that ſince he had only taken Arms for the Defence of the Church, he ought to quit them now the King of *France* was return'd to his Obedience. This Letter diſpell'd the miſt before *Henry*'s Eyes. He ſaw at length, that the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians* had engag'd him to make War againſt *France*, only to ſerve their own Ends; and he reſolv'd from that time to mind his own Intereſt ſolely, without regard to thoſe of his faithleſs Allies. He was the more inclin'd to take this Reſolution, becauſe he heard that *Ferdinand* had renew'd his Truce with *Lewis* XII. and becauſe the Pope did all that was in his power to reconcile the *Swiſſers* with *France*, and the *Venetians* with the Emperor. To this we muſt likewiſe add, that *Wolſey* the King's prime Miniſter and Favourite, who already had, or was to have the Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, and the Abbey of *St. Amand*, was afraid leſt if the War continued, the King wou'd loſe *Tournay*, and conſequently he ſhou'd loſe the Adminiſtration of that See.

French K. *propoſes a Peace to* Henry. *and demands his Siſter* Mary *in Marriage.*

The Duke *de Longueville* who had been a Priſoner in *England*, had been labouring for ſome time paſt, by Order of the King of *France*, to incline *Henry* to the Peace, by ſetting before his Eyes the Treachery of his Confederates. And at laſt in 1514, *Henry* gave him to underſtand that he wou'd conſent to a Peace, provided it was upon reaſonable Terms. Not long after this, the Duke receiv'd a Commiſſion from *Lewis* XII. to treat with *Henry*, and to deſire of him in Marriage the Princeſs *Mary* his

his Siſter, who was betroth'd to the Archduke. *Henry* immediately demanded *Guienne* and *Normandy*; but the Duke rejected that demand, and propos'd to give him for all his Pretenſions a Sum of Money payable at ſeveral Terms, and to make a Treaty of Friendſhip which ſhou'd laſt till the whole was paid. *Henry* did not reliſh this Expedient; but at laſt he only demanded that the Crown of *France* ſhou'd pay him 100000 Crowns a Year. The Duke plainly perceiv'd that what the King aim'd at, was to engage *France* to pay him a ſort of Tribute or Acknowledgment, and in ſome meaſure to own the Juſtice of his Pretenſions upon *Guienne* and *Normandy*. Mean time, for fear he ſhou'd fly off, he tells him that he thought his Propoſal reaſonable, and that he wou'd inform the King his Maſter of it. And it was not long ere *Lewis* XII. ſent Ambaſſadors to *England*, who there concluded both the Peace, and the Marriage. But as he had taken care to ſecure *Wolſey* in his Intereſt, he manag'd it ſo by his means, that without the Talk of any Penſion, *Henry* was contented with a Million of Crowns in Gold, partly for the Arrears due to him by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, and partly towards the payment of a certain Sum which it was pretended the late Duke of *Orleans*, when a Priſoner in *England*, had borrowed of *Margaret* Ducheſs of *Somerſet* the King's Grandmother. Probably there was no ſuch Debt, and that it was a mere Invention on purpoſe that there might be no trace left of any Tribute, Obligation or Penſion. Thus *Henry* receded from his Demand, as to the Penſion of 100000 Crowns, tho he ſeem'd to have taken a fix'd Reſolution upon that Head, as appears

A. 1515.

D. of Longueville's *Negotiations with* Henry.

Henry's *Treaties for a Peace and the Marriage.*

H. VIII. by a Letter in this Collection, which he had written to *Wolſey*. P. 403.

Princeſs Mary *renounces her Match with the Archduke, afterwards* Charles V.

BEFORE the Treaties were ſign'd, the Princeſs *Mary*, by an authentick Act drawn up in preſence of a Notary, renounc'd her Marriage with the Archduke, becauſe he had not ſent his Proxy to marry her at the time appointed; and ſhe urg'd another very trifling Reaſon, *viz.* that ſhe was inform'd from good Hands, that the Miniſters and the moſt intimate Counſellors of the Archduke had conceived a grudge both againſt her, and the King her Brother. Thus was that Prince, who in a few Years was to be the greateſt Monarch in *Europe*, treated without any Regard or Decorum. After this, the Marriage of *Lewis* XII. with *Mary* was ſolemniz'd by Proxies, both at *London* and *Paris*; and at laſt in the Month of *October* the ſame was conſummated at *Abbeville* *.

Marry'd to Lewis XII *of* France.

Cardinal Bamb. *ſucceeded by* Wolſey.

CARDINAL *Bambridge* dying at *Rome* the 14th of *July*, *Wolſey* who was Biſhop of *Lincoln* was made Archbiſhop of *York*.

Lewis XII. *of* Fr. *his death.*

THE Peace being made betwixt *England* and *France*, *Lewis* XII. prepar'd to enter *Italy* with a numerous Army to recover the Duchy of *Milan*; but Death, which overtook him on the 1ſt of *January* 1515. hinder'd him from putting his Schemes in execution.

Francis I. *renews the Treaties with* England.

FRANCIS I. who ſucceeded him, purſued the ſame Plan; and to ſecure himſelf againſt any manner of Diverſion on the part of *England*, he renew'd the Treaties which *Lewis* XII. had lately made with *Henry*. The Preparations which were making in *France* gave uneaſineſs to the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Arragon*, the Duke of *Milan* and the *Swiſſers*.

* Lord *Herbert* ſays it was on the 9th of *October* 1514.

For

Ferdinand was afraid that the new King of *France*, on pretence of a Deſign to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, wou'd fall all at once upon *Navarre*. Therefore he perſuaded the *Swiſſers* to make a League with him and the Emperor, by repreſenting to them that the beſt way to defend the Duchy of *Milan*, was to attack *France* it ſelf. For this end he undertook to make an Irruption into *Bearn* or *Guyenne*, while the *Swiſſers* were to do the ſame into *Burgundy*, and while the Emperor was to continue the War in the State of *Venice*, to hinder the *Venetians* from aſſiſting *France*. *Ferdinand*'s aim was to have an Army ready to march againſt *Francis* I. in caſe he ſhou'd attack *Navarre*, and to give him a Diverſion in *Burgundy* by means of the *Swiſſers*, to whom a good ſum of Money was promis'd on the part of the Confederates. But as ſoon as he heard that the Army of *France* was on the Road to *Italy*, he disbanded his Troops, and left the *Swiſſers* to defend the Duchy of *Milan*. The Pope, for whom the Allies had left room in the League, had indeed promis'd to come into it; but he delay'd it under various pretexts, and yet ſent an Army into *Lombardy*, which render'd *Francis* I. very ſuſpicious of him. Mean time *Francis* found a way to paſs his Army into the Duchy of *Milan*, in ſpite of the *Swiſſers* who guarded the Mountains. Not long after, he enter'd into a Negotiation with them for their return into their own Country, on paying them a Sum of Money in hand. But while the Treaty went on, the *Swiſſers* by the Inſtigation of the Cardinal of *Sion*, went and attack'd him at *Marignan*, where they were entirely defeated. After this Victory, *Francis* made himſelf Maſter of the Duchy, and ſent

A. 1515.

Ferdinand *perſuades the* Swiſſers *to a League with him and the Emperor, and afterwards abandons them.*

French *Army enters* Italy.

French K. *defeats the* Swiſs *at* Marignan.

H. VIII. *Maximilian Sforza* (who ſurrender'd his Perſon and Rights to him) into *France*. He took away *Parma* and *Placentia* from the Pope; and when he had ſo done he was glad to compound with him. This Detail, tho foreign to the Hiſtory of *England*, is yet neceſſary to give Light to the Affair, of which I am now going to treat.

Makes his Peace with the Pope.

AFTER *Francis* I. came to the Crown, he long'd to get *Tournay* out of the Hands of the King of *England*; but *Wolſey* privately oppos'd it, being very ſenſible that he ſhou'd loſe the Adminiſtration of that See upon the Reſtoration of the City. He actually intreated the King of *France* to grant ſome good Benefice to *Lewis Guillard*, who was the true Biſhop of *Tournay*, that he might have no Inclination to diſturb him in the Government of that See. *Francis* promis'd him he wou'd, but did not deſign to be as good as his word; for he knew on the contrary that this was the main ſtumbling Block, and that as long as *Wolſey* enjoy'd the Epiſcopal Adminiſtration of *Tournay*, the Reſtitution of the City wou'd be next to impoſſible. Mean time, as *Wolſey* was only Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprick, becauſe *Guillard* had refus'd the Oath to the King of *England*, *Francis* induc'd that Prelate to make an offer of taking the Oath, and then made ſecret application to the Court of *Rome*, that he might be reſtor'd to his Biſhoprick. But on the other hand, while he us'd his Intereſt in private to ſtrip *Wolſey* of the Adminiſtration of *Tournay*, he publickly ſollicited a Cardinal's Cap for him, in order to curry Favour with him, and by that means to gain the Good-will of King *Henry*. All this paſs'd while *Francis* I. was ſtill in *France*; during which, the Pope, who had promis'd to enter into the League form'd againſt

Francis I. *endeavours to deprive* Wolſey *of the Biſhoprick of* Tournay, *and ſolicits a Cardinal's Cap for him to make him eaſy.*

gainſt him, delay'd to give him Satisfaction with reſpect to *Guillard*. But when he was inform'd that he had happily paſs'd the *Alps*, that he was at the very Gates of *Milan*, and that he was in Treaty with the *Swiſſers*, and very like to ſucceed, he thought himſelf in great danger, becauſe he had given him no ſmall Cauſe to complain of his Conduct. For this reaſon he immediately iſſued a Bull reſtoring *Guillard* to his Biſhoprick, and permitting him alſo to employ the ſecular Arm, if he met with oppoſition. *Henry* complain'd bitterly to the Pope againſt this Bull; but *Francis* I. having in the mean time gain'd the Battle of *Marignan*, the Pope did not dare to revoke the Bull, for fear of diſguſting him. On the other hand, as he did not yet know how *Francis* wou'd carry it to him, he ſaw plainly that he might ſtand in need of *England*, in caſe *Francis* ſhould be inclin'd to be reveng'd of him, of which there was too great appearance: and therefore, while he was at a Non-plus what to do, he choſe to gain time; and becauſe *Henry* oppos'd the Execution of the Bull, he made that a pretence for referring the Examination of the Affair to two Cardinals, who were in no great haſte to finiſh it.

A. 1515.

Pope iſſues a Bull for reſtoring the Non-juring Bp. of Tournay.

WOLSEY plainly perceiv'd that this Bull was owing to the ſollicitation of the King of *France*; and therefore, as well to be reveng'd on him, as to preſerve his Biſhoprick, he reſolv'd to ſet *Henry* upon his Back, tho *Francis* ſoon after procur'd a Cardinal's Cap for him. With this View he made private intimation to the Emperor, that it wou'd not be impoſſible to draw off *Henry* from the Intereſt of *France*; and indeed he left no Stone unturn'd to effect it, by inſpiring him with Jealouſy againſt *Francis* I. and

Wolſey ſtudies Revenge on the King of France.

Treats privately with the Emperor.

H. VIII. and with an apprehenſion that his Power wou'd one day become fatal to *England*.

Emperor's Embaſſy to Henry, *who reſolves at his Requeſt to ſupport the new D. of* Milan.

Not long after this, the Emperor ſent an *Italian* Gentleman into *England*, that was Secretary to *Francis Sforza*, who took the Title of Duke of *Milan*, after *Maximilian* his Brother had yielded up his Rights to *Francis* I. This Envoy had Orders to deſire the King's aſſiſtance to reſtore *Sforza* (who was in *Germany*) to the Duchy of *Milan*. *Henry* did not think fit to declare himſelf openly, but promis'd to remit a good Sum of Money to the Emperor, to be laid out for that purpoſe. Thus did *Wolſey* draw in the King by little and little, not doubting but the Emperor's Expedition againſt *Milan* wou'd occaſion a War, which wou'd give his Maſter an opportunity to declare againſt *France*. After *Wolſey* had form'd this new Project, an Ambaſſador who came from the King of *Arragon* to deſire the renewing of the Alliance, and had danc'd Attendance ſeveral Months at Court to no purpoſe, was at length honour'd and careſs'd, and the Alliance between the two Kings renew'd. With the ſame View, *Henry* had ſent an Ambaſſador to *Bruſſels*, to be reconcil'd with *Charles*, and to renew the antient Treaties; but he had a very cold reception.

Henry's Treaty with the K. of Arragon *renew'd.*

Death of the K. of Arragon. *His Succeſſor,* Charles *V.*

The Death of the King of *Arragon*, which happen'd in *February* 1516, broke all Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Meaſures. For *Charles* of *Auſtria*, his Grandſon, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdoms of *Spain*, had neither Ability nor Inclination to enter into a new War with *France*. On the contrary, he found it his Intereſt to ſecure himſelf on that ſide, that he might go without diſturbance to take poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; yet without *Charles*, it was in vain

to

to attempt to drive the *French* out of *Italy*. The Character of Pope *Leo* was ſo well known, that it was not prudent to lay much ſtreſs upon his Engagements; and as to the Emperor, he cou'd not carry on the War but at another's Expence, for there was a neceſſity of feeding him perpetually with Money, and generally nothing came of it. The Sum which *Henry* had remitted to him, enabled him indeed to make an Incurſion into the Duchy of *Milan*, in *May* 1516. but it had not the Succeſs which the Court of *England* expected. *A.* 1516.

The Emperor's Expedition to Milan.

Some time after, (*viz.* *Aug.* 26.) *Francis* and the new King of *Spain* concluded a Treaty at *Noyon*, which reſtor'd Peace to *Europe*, and particularly to *Italy*, notwithſtanding the Efforts of *Henry* and his Miniſter. They agreed by this Treaty that the Emperor ſhou'd reſtore *Verona* to the *Venetians*, (the only place he had left of theirs in his hands) on their paying him a Sum of Money: That *Charles* ſhou'd reſtore *Navarre* in 6 Months time, and if he refus'd, it ſhou'd be lawful for *Francis* to aſſiſt *Henry d' Albret* in the recovery of it: That *Charles* ſhou'd marry *Louiſa* of *France*, the Daughter of *Francis*, then but a Year old, to whom the King her Father ſhou'd give up for her Portion, all his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and that till the Conſummation of the Marriage, *Charles* ſhou'd allow 100000 Crowns a Year for her Maintenance. As *Charles* was juſt then going to take poſſeſſion of *Spain*, he thought he cou'd not give too much for a Peace which he ſo much wanted. The Emperor try'd all ſhifts to avoid the Ratification of this Treaty, which put him out of hopes of ever ſetting his Foot again in *Italy*; and *Henry* did his utmoſt to engage *Charles* to make

Treaty of Noyon *betwixt* Fra. *and* Spain.

The different Views of the ſeveral Princes.

H. VIII. make an offenſive League againſt *France*: but all ſignify'd nothing; and the Emperor was at laſt forc'd to ratify the Treaty of *Noyon*.

A defenſive League againſt Fra. *HENRY* and his Miniſter not being able to ſucceed in forming an offenſive League againſt *France*, were at laſt glad of a defenſive one, which *Charles* was willing to come into on condition that it was drawn up in general Terms, without naming the King of *France* in it. This League was ſign'd at *London*, the 29th of *October* 1516, between the Emperor and the Kings of *England* and *Spain*. They engag'd that in caſe either of them was attack'd, each ſhou'd furniſh 20000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe to defend him. The Pope was declar'd Head of the League, in hopes that he wou'd come into it. The *Swiſſers* were alſo included in it; and it was agreed to give them Penſions, which were to be regulated afterwards, and paid by each of the Confederates. But ſince it was very uncertain whether they wou'd chuſe to be included in it, 'twas agreed that each of the Confederate Princes ſhou'd ſend Ambaſſadors to engage them in it, and to treat with them. It ſeems that theſe Penſions were to be paid *both to the Publick, and to private Men*. Probably the Aim and Intention of *Henry* and his Miniſter in bringing about this League, was to take an occaſion from it ſome day or other for arming the Allies againſt *France*. All this was done for the ſake only of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who long'd to be reveng'd of *Francis* I. and found a War neceſſary for preſerving the Government of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. At leaſt one cannot ſee any other Reaſon for the Animoſity which *Henry* diſcover'd at that time againſt *France*. So that this Prince after having been chous'd by the Popes, the Emperor, and the King of *Arragon*,

All theſe meaſures taken for the ſake of Wolſey.

Arragon, and after having happily got rid of the Wars in which they engag'd him, had the Folly moreover to give himſelf up into the Hands of his Prime Miniſter, who, as will appear more fully hereafter, had no more regard for him than they had. *A.* 1517.

PEACE being reſtor'd to *Europe*, *Charles* ſet out in the Year 1517 for *Spain*, after he had ratify'd the League of *London*, and granted Cardinal *Wolſey* a Penſion of 3000 Livres for the Services he expected from him. *Charles V. ſets out for Spain, and gives Wolſey a Penſion.*

THREE important Affairs employ'd Pope *Leo* during the Year 1517. The firſt was the Project he had form'd to engage all the Chriſtian Princes to make a League againſt the *Turks*, under pretence of the great Progreſs thoſe Infidels made in *Egypt* againſt the *Mammalucks*, who, the Pope imagin'd, wou'd not fail, after they had ſubdued *Egypt*, to come and attack Chriſtendom. Upon this occaſion he ſet his Indulgences to publick Sale; which ſcandalous Traffick provok'd *Luther*, and gave Birth to the Reformation, which was afterwards eſtabliſh'd in ſeveral parts of *Europe* *. The ſecond *The Pope ſolicits the Chriſtian Princes to make War againſt the Turks, and for that purpoſe ſells his Indulgences.*

* THE Origin of the Reformation is ſo material a part of Hiſtory, that 'tis preſum'd an Explanation of the Indulgences, as given by Mr. *Rapin* in his Hiſtory, Vol. V. may not be unacceptable. They were plenary Pardons for Sins, ſold every where at ſo moderate a Price, that no Chriſtian who car'd for the Salvation of his Soul wou'd be without them. Therefore the Pope made no doubt of raiſing an immenſe Sum, and for this end he ſent his Collectors into the ſeveral parts of Chriſtendom to raiſe it, and Preachers who had Orders to extol the great Benefits of them. The Jacobin Fryars being appointed for *Saxony* in the room of the *Auguſtins*, who us'd to preach there for the Croiſades, the latter were provok'd at it, and paſs'd ſevere Cenſures both upon the Preachers and Collectors. And among others *Luther*,

H. VIII. cond thing which employ'd the Pope during this Year, was to make War upon *Francis Maria de la Rovero*, who again put himself in possession of the Duchy of *Urbino* which the Pope had given away from him to his Nephew *Laurence de Medicis*. Finally, this very Year he discover'd a Conspiracy, which had been form'd against him by some of the Cardinals to poison him. I make mention of these three Affairs, because of some Pieces in the *Fœdera* which relate to them.

His War upon the Duke of Urbino.

Conspiracy against the Pope.

He continues to sollicit the Croisado.

LEO X. still continued his Sollicitations during the Year 1518. for the League against the *Turks*. He sent Legates to all the chief Courts of *Europe* to negotiate this Affair, which, according to the Plan he had form'd, cou'd not fail of bringing immense Sums into his Treasury. The Person he deputed to go to *England*

Luther, who was one of the *Augustin* Friars, publish'd Papers against them, in which he expos'd the pious Fraud of the Indulgences themselves, and thereby brought such a swarm of Enemies upon him, as engag'd him to prove that neither those Indulgences, nor the Papal Authority it self, which till then the Publick had so credulously espous'd and fondly supported, had any Foundation in Scripture. Yet the Pope's Ministers us'd in Taverns to play away at Dice the Power of delivering Souls out of Purgatory; and they were not asham'd to publish in their Pulpits that there was no Wickedness, how great soever, nay, tho one had ravish'd the Virgin *Mary* her self, but might be forgiven by those Bulls of Indulgence, or Pardons; and that the Souls tormented in Purgatory, as soon as the Money was flung into the Bason, skipp'd for Joy amidst the Flames, and flew strait to Heaven; but that if the Sum offer'd was a Farthing less than 10 Shillings it wou'd not avail. ——See *Lonicerus* in his *Theatrum Historicum*, Fol. 241. *Christianus Massæus* l. 20. *Chron. Guiccardini*; and above all, Father *Paul*'s History of the Council of *Trent*, Bishop *Burnet*'s of the Reformation, and the Annals of *Goodwin* Bishop of *Hereford*, translated by his Son *Morgan Goodwin*, LLD.

was

was Cardinal *Laurence Campeggio*. But *Wolſey* being affronted that the Pope had not thought of him, the Pope was oblig'd to make him eaſy by joining him in the Commiſſion with the other. *Wolſey* found means afterwards to get his Collegue recall'd, to remain ſole *Legate à latere* in *England*, and to get his Commiſſion prolong'd from time to time, tho there was no neceſſity for it. All the Efforts which the Pope made uſe of, ended at laſt in nothing more than a defenſive League between the chief Sovereigns, in which the *Turks* were not ſo much as mention'd. But that was not the Thing the Pope wanted. He hop'd to have all the Chriſtian Princes engage in a Croiſado, which was to be under his own Direction, and which wou'd help to fill his Coffers.

A. 1518.

Joins Wolſey *in the Commiſſion with his Legate to* England, *but* Wolſey *gets his Collegue recall'd.*

Defenſive League of the Chriſtian Princes.

THE moſt conſiderable Tranſactions of the Year 1518. with regard to *England*, were the Negotiation, and the Treaty thereupon concluded for reſtoring *Tournay*, and another Treaty which was made on that occaſion for the Marriage of *Francis* the *Dauphin* to *Mary*, *Henry*'s Daughter. Cardinal *Wolſey* perceiving that the Peace which *Europe* enjoy'd, render'd him neither ſo neceſſary nor ſo formidable to the King of *France* as before, and that in all probability *Guillard*'s offer to take the Oath to the King of *England*, wou'd be a means of reſtoring him to his Biſhoprick, thought it high time to comply with the Sollicitations of *Francis*, who ſpar'd no Coſt to make him his Friend. By an Accommodation he might hope that Prince wou'd make him Satisfaction for the Loſs of his Government; whereas he hazarded the Loſs of all by ſtriving to keep all. Therefore he induc'd *Henry* to reſtore *Tournay* to *France*, on paying down the Sum of 600000 Crowns;

Treaties for reſtoring Tournay, *and the Marriage of the Dauphin to Princeſs* Mary.

H. VIII. Crowns; but before he enter'd into a Treaty on this Head, he took care to ſecure to himſelf a Penſion of 12000 Livres by way of amends. While the Affair of *Tournay* was negotiating, a Marriage was alſo treated of betwixt the Dauphin and the Princeſs *Mary*, with whom the King her Father gave a Portion of 333000 Crowns, which was to be deducted out of the Money he was to receive for *Tournay*. At the ſame time another Treaty was concluded for an Interview betwixt the two Kings in ſome part of *Picardy*.

Her Portion.

Treaty for an Interview betwixt the two Kings.

Death of the Emperor Maximilian.

THE Death of the Emperor *Maximilian*, which happen'd in *January* 1519, caus'd great alteration in the Affairs of *Europe*. Every body knows that both *Charles* King of *Spain*, and *Francis* of *France* aſpir'd to the Empire; and that the Election of *Charles* gave the King of *France* that Jealouſy, which was one of the principal Cauſes of renewing the War. However it did not break out immediately; for the two Monarchs were each of them diſpos'd to take juſt meaſures beforehand, that they might be well ſupported in a War, which, according to all appearance, wou'd be attended with great Conſequences. Of all the Powers in *Europe*, there was none more capable than *England* to turn the Ballance to which ſide ſoever ſhe join'd. For this reaſon the two Rival Princes were exceeding induſtrious for a while to ſecure the Friendſhip of *Henry* VIII. The only way they had to come at it, was by the Favour of Cardinal *Wolſey*, which both ſtrove to gain by Careſſes, Preſents, and extraordinary Honours. *Francis* gave him a very evident Mark of his Confidence, in a Point about which Sovereigns are generally very nice, by leaving it to his Diſcretion to regulate every

The Election of Ch. V. *the Cauſe of a new War in* Europe *by the Rivalſhip of the King of* France.

They both court Henry's *Friendſhip by the means of* Wolſey.

every thing relating to the Interview which he was to have with *Henry*. Moreover, he promis'd him the Suffrages of 14 Cardinals to chuſe him Pope, in caſe he out-liv'd *Leo* X. But *Wolſey* thought the Emperor was beſt able to procure him that high Dignity, and it was more for this reaſon than any thing elſe, that he clos'd entirely with *Charles*, and begun by degrees to form that Union betwixt him and the King his Maſter, which was like to prove of ſo much Advantage to him. *A.* 1520.

He ſettles Henry's Interview with Francis.

THE Interview of the two Kings having been put off till *June* 1520, Cardinal *Wolſey*, according to a Power which he had receiv'd from both Kings, ſettled the Time, Place, and Form of it. He gave the King of *England* ſome Advantage, by ordering the firſt Interview to be made upon his Territories; but *Francis* ſeem'd to take no notice of it, and to be ſatisfy'd with the Reaſon which was urg'd by *Wolſey*, *viz.* that *Henry* had fac'd the dangers of the Sea to pay him the Viſit. While *Henry* was making ready for the Voyage, and was actually advanc'd as far as *Canterbury*, he heard that the Emperor was arriv'd at *Dover*. All the Hiſtorians ſay that *Henry* was ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Viſit, tho 'tis not very likely. At leaſt *Wolſey* cou'd not but know it beforehand, becauſe in the preceding Month of *March*, *Charles* engag'd to procure him a Biſhoprick in *Spain*, and a Penſion upon ſome other Biſhoprick, immediately after the Conference which he was to have with the King of *England*. Be this as it will, *Wolſey* got a Commiſſion to go and compliment the Emperor, and to carry him to *Canterbury*. 'Tis probable that was the time when the Emperor effectually ſecur'd the Cardinal in his Intereſt, by

As Henry was ſetting out for the Interview, the Emperor arrives at Dover.

Wolſey goes to receive him.

H. VIII. promiſing to make him a Pope, for that was properly the end of this Prince's Viſit; who was ſo uneaſy at the intended Interview betwixt *Francis* and *Henry*, that he made ſome Efforts to divert *Henry* from going; but as he was too far engag'd to recede, he only promis'd that he wou'd not enter into any Meaſures to his Prejudice. The Emperor being ſatisfy'd, embark'd again for the *Netherlands*, as did *Henry* for *Calais*; from whence he repair'd to the place of Interview, which was call'd *the Field of Cloth of Gold*, or *the Golden Camp*, becauſe of the Magnificence of the two Courts.

The Emperor returns to the Netherlands, *and* Henry *ſails for* Calais.

Interview and Treaty betwixt the Kings of England *and* France.

While the two Kings took their Pleaſure, their Miniſters agreed on a Treaty, whereby *Francis* I. engag'd after the entire Payment of the Million of Crowns already mention'd, to give *Henry* 100000 Livres *Tournois per Annum*, till the Dauphin's Marriage with *Mary* was conſummated. This ſhews how far *Francis* was convinc'd of the neceſſity of making the King of *England* his Friend. The Emperor was equally perſuaded of the ſame neceſſity for his own part, but he went a ſurer way to work by ſecuring the Intereſt of the Favorite.

Betwixt Henry *and the Emperor.*

After the Interview, *Henry* went to ſee the Emperor at *Graveling*, and the Emperor return'd him the Viſit at *Calais*; of which *Francis* was jealous, and not without Reaſon, becauſe the Foundations of that Alliance, which was afterwards made betwixt the Emperor and *Henry*, were laid in theſe reciprocal Viſits. *Charles* V. kept his word with *Wolſey*, by procuring for him from the Pope a Penſion of 2000 Ducats upon the Biſhoprick of *Palencia*, and the Adminiſtration of that of *Badajox*, which brought him in 5000 more.

The Pope's Grants of Biſhopricks in Spain *to* Wolſey.

In

IN 1521, the War betwixt the Emperor and *France* began, after each of them had try'd his utmoſt to provoke the other to ſtrike the firſt Blow, to the end that he might have occaſion to call for the aſſiſtance of the King of *England*. But *Francis* might have look'd for it long enough; for *Henry* had reſolv'd beforehand to take part with the Emperor, and the only thing wanting was a plauſible pretext for it, which he was not long without. *Francis* I. having caus'd *Navarre* to be attack'd, and ſtirr'd up * *Robert de la Marck* to take Arms againſt the Emperor, and even to ſend him a Challenge, the Emperor call'd upon *Henry* for his Aſſiſtance, in purſuance of the League of *London*. *Henry* being deſirous to ſalve Appearances, ſent an Embaſſy upon this Head to *Francis*, who, that *Henry* might have no pretence to declare againſt him, oblig'd *Robert de la Marck* to lay down his Arms. And as to the War in *Navarre*, that cou'd be no Plea for *Henry*'s declaring againſt him, becauſe *Francis* was authoriz'd to ſupport *Henry d' Albret*, by the Treaty of *Noyon*. *A.* 1521.

Francis attacks Navarre, and ſets Robert de la Marck upon the Emperor.

WHILE the Emperor complain'd againſt the King of *France* for having begun the War by means of *Robert de la Marck*, he form'd a League with the Pope, to drive the *French* out of *Milan*; and ere that League broke out, he took a ſevere Revenge upon *Robert de la Marck*, by ravaging his Country with Fire and Sword, and ſeizing his Towns. His aim, as has been ſaid, was to oblige *Francis* I. to take ſome

Emperor's League with the Pope to drive the French out of Milan.

The Emperor takes Revenge on Robert de la Marck.

* THIS *Robert de la Marck* was Prince of *Sedan*, and Sovereign of *Bouillon*. His quarrel with the Emperor was for denying Juſtice to the young Princes of *Chimay*, to whom he was Guardian. See *du Bellay*'s Memoirs.

H. VIII. Step which might repreſent him as the Aggreſſor. On the other hand, *Francis* was upon his Guard, leſt he ſhou'd fall into the Snare. But as he was apprehenſive of the Fate of *Champagne*, becauſe of the near approach of the Emperor to it with an Army far more numerous than was neceſſary to chaſtiſe *Robert de la Marck*, he ſent a Repreſentation to *Henry*, that he cou'd no longer excuſe himſelf from taking Arms to ſecure his Dominions. Upon this, *Henry* offer'd himſelf for Mediator; and being accepted as ſuch by the two Parties, it was agreed that a Congreſs ſhou'd be held at *Calais*, there to treat of a Peace, by the Mediation of the King of *England*, who ſent Cardinal *Wolſey* thither to repreſent him, with the Title of his Lieutenant. The Conferences at *Calais* laſted two Months and a half, during which time there was open War in *Italy*, *Champagne*, the *Netherlands*, and *Navarre*. The League of the Pope and the Emperor ſucceeded according to their Wiſhes. *Lautrec*, who commanded at *Milan*, was forc'd to abandon that City; of which, and ſome other places, the Allies took poſſeſſion. On the other hand, the Emperor's Army made great Ravage in *Champagne*, while the *French* beſieg'd *Fontarabia* on the Frontiers of *Spain*.

Francis *threatens to take Arms.*

Henry *is made Mediator of the Quarrel, and a Congreſs appointed.*

Milan, *&c. abandon'd by the* Fr.

French *beſiege* Fontarabia.

EACH of the two Princes now in Arms had taken ſuch Precautions, leſt he ſhou'd be thought the Aggreſſor, that it was a difficult matter to judge which of the two had begun the War; and this was properly the only Queſtion debated in the Conferences at *Calais*, in which *Henry* and the Cardinal did not act with abundance of Sincerity. For inſtead of endeavouring to procure Peace, *Wolſey* put it as far back as he cou'd, his only View being to make the King

Henry's *and the Cardinal's Inſincerity in the Conferences at* Calais.

King of *France* chargeable with the blame of the Rupture. In fine, this Negotiation ended only in a Treaty about Trifles which might as well have been let alone. Mean while *Wolsey*, under pretence of going to perſuade the Emperor to a Peace, went to him at *Bruges*, and agreed on a League with him againſt *France*, and about his Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, who had been eſpous'd to the Dauphin. Before he went to *Calais*, he was furniſh'd with ſufficient Powers to treat with whomſoever he ſhou'd think fit. *A.* 1522.

A trifling Treaty the end of the Conferences.

Wolsey agrees on a League with the Emperor, and on his Marriage to the Princeſs Mary.

During this, Pope *Leo* X. dy'd upon the firſt Day of *December*, which caus'd the Confederate Army in the Duchy of *Milan* to diſperſe. But *Lautrec* for want of Troops and Money was not in a condition to improve the Opportunity.

Pope Leo's *Death.*

In the beginning of the Year 1522, *Francis* I. ſent Letters Patent to *Henry*, calling upon him for Succours againſt the Emperor, in purſuance of the League at *London*; dated *Octob.* 2. 1518. To which *Henry* only return'd anſwer by a Herald, who declar'd War againſt him as the firſt Aggreſſor, by virtue of the very ſame Treaty.

Francis *calls on* Henry *for Aſſiſtance againſt the Emperor, and is anſwer'd with a Herald who declares War againſt* Fr.

The Conclave that met to chuſe a Pope, broke up in *January* 1522, after they had elected *Adrian* VI. who had been Præceptor to *Charles* V. and was actually Regent in *Spain*. *Wolsey* naturally imagin'd that this Election was owing to the Intrigues of the Emperor, tho he had promis'd to procure the Papacy for him. However he diſſembled his Reſentment, and the Emperor, as he return'd thro' *England* for *Spain*, took care to pacify him with Preſents and Penſions. While *Charles* ſtaid in *England*, he ratify'd the League which he had concluded

Pope Adrian VI. *choſe.*

The Emperor ſtops Wolsey's *Mouth with Preſents, &c. and ratifies the Treaty of* Bruges.

H. VIII. at *Bruges* with Cardinal *Wolsey*, and *Henry* did the same on his part.

Ill success of the Fr. *Arms in* Italy.

THE War which continued in *Italy* during the Year 1522, was very disadvantageous to *Francis* I. whose Army, after the Loss of the Battle of *Bicoque*, was forc'd to repass the Mountains; and not long after, the *French* were likewise drove out of *Genoa*.

Pope's Bull for a Truce despis'd by Francis, *upon which the Pope enters into a League against him.*

POPE *Adrian* VI. being inform'd that *Francis* I. was preparing to return into *Italy* with a numerous Army, was prevail'd upon by the Enemies of *France* to publish a Bull in 1523, by which he order'd a Truce of three Years to be observ'd by all Christian Princes. *Francis* made a mere Jest of this Bull; for which Contempt the Pope was reveng'd on him by entring into a League form'd against *France*, in which *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, the *Genoese* and *Florentines* were also engag'd.

BESIDES the Advantages which *Charles* V. expected from this League, he propos'd very great matters to himself from the Rebellion of the Constable (the Duke) *de Bourbon*, whom he had corrupted, to make a powerful diversion in *France*. But this finishes the Subject of the Acts of this Volume of the *Fœdera*, as far as they relate to Foreign Affairs, of which these are the chief.

Henry's *Alliance with* Maximilian, 259.

1. AN Act renewing the Alliance which was made *June* 20, 1502. betwixt the Emperor *Maximilian* and *Henry* VII. dated *August* 20, 1509. at *Westminster*.

With Lewis XII. 270.

2. ANOTHER for renewing the Treaty of Peace and Friendship made betwixt *Henry* VII. and *Lewis* XII. dated *March* 23, 1510. at *London*.

AFTER

AFTER this Treaty we meet with a great number of Acts which have a Dependency on it; such as Ratifications, Oaths, *&c.* *A.* 1511.

3. A Treaty of defensive Alliance betwixt *Henry* VIII. and *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, concluded at *London May* 24, 1510. and *Ferdinand*'s Ratification of it; dated *June* 21. following at *Montiel*. *Ferdinand* took care to have this Clause inserted in it. *With the K. of Arragon.* 281.

Item. *Rex sic requisitus, statim post ipsam Requisitionem, se Regis sic invadentis Hostem publice declarabit,* &c. *& guerram actualiter aget in propriâ personâ si Rex Gallorum fuerit. Quod si Rex Gallorum non fuerit, tunc per Capitaneum & Locum suum tenentem,* &c.

i.e. AND the King so requir'd shall immediately after the said Summons publickly declare himself an Enemy to the Prince who attacks the other King, and shall actually make War upon him in Person, if the Aggressor happens to be the King of *France:* And if not, then by his Captain and Lieutenant.

4. A Commission to the Lord *Darcy* to command * a thousand Archers for the assistance of the Catholick King against the *Moors*; dated *March* 8, 1511. at *Canterbury*. *Archers sent over for his War with the Moors.* 294.

5. *FERDINAND*'s Letter of Thanks to him for the said Supply; dated at *Seville April* 20, 1511. *Ferdinand's Letter of Thanks.* 297.

I have already observ'd that *Ferdinand* intended to employ his Fleet and his Army against *France*, and not against the *Moors*. Yet, mark what he says in this Letter.

* ALL our modern Historians, not excepting even Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, have follow'd Lord *Herbert*'s Copy, which makes this number 1500; but the Letter which *Ferdinand* sent in acknowledgment for that Supply, calls them but 1000.

Nos

H. VIII.

Nos tamen confitemur Vobis plurimum debere, cum ad hanc ſacroſanctam Expeditionem, non ſolum cum exercitu tam liberaliter adjuvare nos voluiſtis; ſed etiam prudentiſſimo amantiſſimoque conſilio, quod, nimirum, lubentiſſime ſequeremur, ſi hujuſmodi noſtra eſſet Expeditio, quæ Ducem aliquem Generalem ex Noſtris pateretur, & non propriam perſonam noſtram exigeret. Sunt enim in hoc bello gerendo, magnoque negotio, plures cauſæ perdifficiles, quæ noſtram prorſus perſonam requirunt, & non alterius Ducis officium. Præterea, non ignoramus, tam in mari, quam in terrâ, ſubeundos nobis eſſe labores multos, magnaque pericula. Verum enimverò, cum conſideramus quantò majores Jeſus Chriſtus, Dominus noſter, pro nobis labores pertulit, & mortem crucis, quam paſſus eſt, pro cujus honore & gloriâ hanc expeditionem ſuſcepimus, nullus labor in ea Nobis ſuccedere poterit, qui non ſit Nobis optata & dulciſſima requies, nihilque omittemus tam magnum, quod non ſit maximum lucrum Nobis allaturum. Sed confidimus & ſperamus in ejus Clementiâ, pro quo hanc expeditionem paramus, & Bellum geſturi ſumus, quod ipſe ſuæ cauſæ favebit, atque Nos pro ſe præliantes adjuvabit.

i. e. NEVERTHELESS we confeſs our ſelves very much oblig'd to you, not only for the Army with which you have been pleas'd ſo generouſly to aſſiſt us for this Holy Expedition, but alſo for your moſt prudent and affectionate Advice; which we ſhou'd moſt readily follow, if our Expedition was of ſuch a Nature as did not require our immediate Preſence, and might as well be conducted by any of our Generals. For in the management of this War, and great Affair, there are many very difficult Caſes which demand nothing leſs than our own appearance in Perſon, and in which any other Leader

Leader wou'd be of no Service. Beſides, we are not ignorant that many are the Toils, and great the Dangers which we muſt encounter with, as well by Sea as Land. But when we conſider the much greater Labours, and even the Death on the Croſs which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for whoſe Honour and Glory we have undertaken this Expedition, went thro' and ſuffer'd for us, nothing can happen to us in it which we ſhall think Labour, but rather our moſt deſirable and ſweeteſt Reſt; nor ſhall we reckon any Loſs too great for obtaining the greateſt Gain. But we truſt and hope in his Mercy, for whom we are preparing to make this Expedition, and going to War, that he will favour his own Cauſe, and help us fighting for him. *A.* 1511.

6. THE League concluded at *Rome* between *Julius* II. the King of *Arragon* and the *Venetians*; dated *Oct.* 4, 1511. *Pope's League with the K. of* Arragon *and the* Venetians. 305.

'TIS ſaid in the Treaty it ſelf, that it was concluded with the Approbation and Conſent of the King of *England*, and with the participation of Cardinal *Bambridge* his Ambaſſador. It appears likewiſe by the very Terms of the Treaty, that it was made to recover for the Pope not only the City of *Bologna*, but alſo every thing that belong'd mediately or immediately to the Church, that is to ſay, chiefly the Duchy of *Ferrara*.

7. THE Treaty of Alliance betwixt *Henry* and *Ferdinand* for defence of the Church; dated at *London Nov.* 17, 1511. Henry's *League with* Ferdinand. 311.

THE Preamble of this Treaty is of the ſame Style as *Ferdinand*'s Letter abovemention'd. The two Kings ſeem to breathe nothing but the Glory of God, and the Welfare of

H. VIII. of the Catholick Church. Mean while *Henry*'s true Aim was to conquer *Guienne*, and *Ferdinand*'s to deceive his Son-in-Law, and to ſeize *Navarre* under pretence of defending the poor oppreſſed Church. There was not a ſingle Clauſe in the Treaty which did not tend to *Ferdinand*'s Aim; but it was not poſſible for *Henry* to perceive it, till the thing was done and over.

Commiſſion for his Ambaſſadors to go to the Lateran *Council.* 325.

8. A Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and to Sir *Robert Wingfield*, to go and aſſiſt at the *Lateran* Council in quality of Ambaſſadors from *England*; dated *April* 1, 1512. at *Weſtminſter.*

Ibidemque pro Nobis & Regno noſtro & Nomine noſtro communicandi, tractandi & concludendi, de & ſuper omnibus & ſingulis, quæ pro bono Univerſalis Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, & pro Reformatione ejuſdem tam in Capite, quam in Membris.

i. e. AND there to confer, treat and conclude for us and our Kingdom, and in our Name, of and concerning all and ſingular the Articles which may be judg'd neceſſary for the welfare of the whole Catholick Church, and for the Reformation thereof, as well in the Head as in the Members, *&c.* *

Commiſſion to Sir Ed. Howard. 326.

9. A Commiſſion to Sir *Edward Howard* to command the Fleet intended for defence of the Church; dated *April* 7, 1512. at *Knoll.*

* MY Lord *Herbert* obſerves that this Clauſe was only to blind the Publick, becauſe certainly nothing cou'd be further from the Pope's Thoughts than to ſet this Council upon a Reformation, either of himſelf or of the Church. That Hiſtorian ſays, that in this Council the Sentence of Excommunication was confirm'd againſt the Authors of the other Council, and the Acts of it revers'd.

THIS

THIS was the Fleet which was to act against *France*, while the King's Troops were employ'd in the Conqueſt of *Guienne*. In all appearance the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*'s Commiſſion ran likewiſe that 'twas for Defence of the Church. *A.* 1512.

10. *FERDINAND*'s Commiſſion to *Lewis Carroz* of *Villaragud*, his Ambaſſador in *England*, to conclude a League with the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the *Venetians* againſt *France*; dated *July* 20, 1512. at *Burgos*. Ferdinand's *Commiſſion to treat of the Leag. with the Pope*, &c. 336.

THIS was after the Battle of *Ravenna*.

11. A Commiſſion to the Earls of *Surry* and *Shrewsbury* to conclude Leagues for defence of the Pope and the Church; dated *Nov.* 10, 1512. at *Weſtminſter*. Henry's *Commiſſion to conclude Leagues for the Pope and Church*. 341.

12. *HENRY*'s Letters Patent, declaring that he adheres to the League of *Rome*; dated *Nov.* 13, 1512. at *Weſtminſter*. *His Declaration for the League of* Rome.

IN theſe two Acts the King took it for granted that the Pope was ſtill oppreſs'd, that the *French* ravag'd *Romagna*, and that the League of *Rome* was ſtill in force; but he was miſtaken.

13. INDULGENCES for thoſe who ſhall accompany *Henry* to the War againſt *Lewis* XII. *Indulgences for thoſe who go with* Henry *againſt* Fra. 343.

I ſuſpect that this Piece, which is without any Date, or ſo much as the Pope's Name, is miſplac'd by Mr. *Rymer*, and that it ought to be put after the Treaty of *Mechlin*, in the Year 1513.

14. A Commiſſion to treat with the Emperor for the defence of the Church; dated *Dec.* 20, 1512. at *Weſtminſter*.

THIS was in order to conclude the Treaty of *Mechlin*.

15. THE

H. VIII. 15. The Treaty of Truce between *Lewis* XII. and *Ferdinand*, concluded at *Orthez* the first of *April* 1513, in which we find this Clause.

Truce betwixt Fra. *and* Spain. 350.

Nos Jacobus de Conchillos, Episcopus Cathanienſis, tanquam Orator & Procurator Regis Arragonum, Nomine ſuo, ac vice & nomine Maximiliani Imperatoris & Henrici Regis Angliæ Fratrum ſuorum, pro quibus præfatus Catholicus Rex fortem ſe facit, quòd præſentia & infra ſcripta Capitula per utraſque Majeſtates ſuas ratificabuntur, &c.

i. e. We *James de Conchillos*, Biſhop of *Catana*, as Ambaſſador and Proctor of the King of *Arragon*, in his Name, and in the Name and on the part of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and *Henry* King of *England* his Brothers, for whom the ſaid Catholick King has engag'd, that the preſent and underwritten Articles ſhall be ratify'd by both their Majeſties, *&c.*

Henry's *League with the Pope, Emperor*, &c. *at* Mechlin. 354.

16. The Treaty of Alliance betwixt *Leo* X. *Maximilian* I. *Henry* VIII. and *Ferdinand*, concluded *April* 5, 1513. at *Mechlin*.

The Emperor and *Henry* were the two only ſtipulating Powers.

358. 17. The Ratification of the Treaty of *Mechlin*, in *Ferdinand*'s Name, by *Lewis Carroz of Villaragud*, his Ambaſſador in *England*; dated at *London April* 18, 1513. It has this Clauſe in it.

Verum quamvis mihi Catholici Regis Arragonum Oratori prædicto ſatis ampla, valida, ac ſufficiens poteſtas, ipſam ligam una cum Oratoribus prædictis concludendi, a ſupremo Domino meo collata & tributa fuerit; tamen quibuſdam arduis cauſis præpeditus, hujuſmodi Concluſioni intereſſe non potui.

Sed quoniam mihi ſatis compertum & teſtatum eſt, nihil in prædicto fœdere contineri quod præfato Domino meo non gratum aut acceptum futurum erit, nihilque magis ei cordi ſit, quam ut fœdus ipſum perfectè compleatur, Ego igitur, &c. A. 1513.

i. e. But altho valid and ample Powers were given to me the Ambaſſodor of the foreſaid King of *Arragon*, by my Sovereign Lord, to conclude the League my ſelf with the Ambaſſadors aforeſaid; yet for certain weighty Reaſons I cou'd not be preſent at the concluſion of it. But becauſe I am very ſure that there is nothing in the ſaid League but will be grateful and acceptable to my ſaid Lord the King, and that he has nothing more at Heart than that the ſame ſhou'd be ratify'd, I do therefore, *&c.*

18. The Oath of the ſaid Ambaſſador upon the Souls of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Joan* Queen of *Caſtille*, for obſerving the Treaty of *Mechlin*. Sworn at St. *Paul*'s Church *London*, *April* 25, 1513. *The Ambaſſador's Oath for the Obſervation of the Treaty of* Mechlin. 363.

The Ambaſſador ſays of himſelf, that he was *in hac parte ritè ordinatus, legitimè conſtitutus, & ſufficienter authorizatus, i. e.* that for this purpoſe he was rightly ordain'd, legally conſtituted, and ſufficiently authoriz'd.

Yet for all this, his Proceeding was diſavow'd by *Ferdinand*.

19. Several Acts relating to the Preparations for War. *Acts relating to the Preparations for War.* 364 to 370.

20. Letters Patent for authorizing the Queen Regent to give Orders to the Treaſury; dated *June* 11, 1513. at *Weſtminſter*.

21. Letter from Cardinal *Bambridge* to the King; written from *Rome Sept.* 12, 1513. *Cardinal* Bambridge's *Letter to* K. Henry. 376.

H. VIII. In this Letter there is mention of a certain Brief of *Julius* II. committed to the keeping of the Cardinal *de Sinigallia*, in order to be deliver'd to *Henry*, after he has vanquiſh'd the Enemies of the Church. In all appearance this was a Brief by which *Julius* II. transfer'd to *Henry* the Title of Moſt Chriſtian King. Cardinal *Bambridge* having demanded it of the Cardinal *de Sinigallia*, after the Battle of *Guinegaſte*, and the taking of *Terouenne*, the latter anſwer'd that he cou'd not deliver it without an expreſs Order ſign'd with the King's own Hand. It appears by this Letter, that there was ſome Formality wanting in the Pope's Brief, and that it was apprehended there wou'd be a Difficulty in getting it confirm'd by *Leo* X.

The Cardinal de Sinigallia's *Letter to the K. giving him the Title of* Moſt Chriſtian King. 379.

22. A Letter from the Cardinal *de Sinigallia* to the King, to acquaint him that according to his Order he has deliver'd *Julius* IId's Letter to Cardinal *Bambridge*. 'Tis dated *Octob.* 14, 1513. at *Rome*.

He therein gives the King the Title of *his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, which is a Confirmation of the abovementioned Conjecture *.

Treaty of Liſle. 379.

23. The Treaty concluded at *Liſle* between the Emperor and *Henry*; dated *Octob.* 15, 1513.

There's a miſtake in the Title of this Act, where we read *Carolum Imperatorem electum*, inſtead of *Maximilianum*.

Pope's Letter exhorting King Henry *to a Peace.* 386.

24. *LEO* Xth's Brief to the King, exhorting him to Peace; dated *Dec.* 17, 1513. at *Rome*.

* The Lord *Herbert*, who had ſeen the Original Contract of the Capitulation of *Tournay*, dated *Sept.* 23, 1513. ſays alſo that the Citizens therein gave K. *Henry* the Title of *Roy tres Chretien*, or the moſt Chriſtian King.

25. Let-

25. LETTER from the Cardinal *de Sinigallia* to the King, to excuſe his having refus'd to deliver *Julius* IId's Brief to the Cardinal of *York*, without expreſs Order from his Majeſty; dated *Dec.* 20, 1513. at *Rome*. *A.* 1514.

Another Letter to the King from the Cardinal de Sinigallia. 387.

THIS Letter being of the 20th of *December*, and the abovementioned from the ſame Cardinal, wherein he ſaid he had deliver'd that Pope's Brief, being of the 14th of *October*, 'tis manifeſt that the Date of one of them muſt be wrong, becauſe the firſt Letter ought to come after the laſt. I conjecture that this ought to have been dated the 20th of *September*, and not the 20th of *December*.

HOWEVER, it does not appear that *Henry* made any Uſe of that Brief. And probably *Leo* X. refus'd to confirm it.

26. *LEO* Xth's Letter to *Henry*, when he ſent him the Sword and Cap conſecrated upon *Chriſtmas*-day; dated *March* 1, 1514. at *Rome*.

Pope's Letter to K. Henry when he ſent him the conſecrated Cap and Sword. 393.

27. THE Treaty of Truce betwixt *Lewis* XII. and *Ferdinand*, concluded at *Orleans*. *March* 14, 1514.

PETER de Quintana, *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſador, and authoriz'd by the Emperor, therein comprehends the King of *England*, *pro quo idem Sereniſſimus Imperator fortem ſe facit*; *i. e.* for whom the ſaid moſt ſerene Emperor undertakes. 'Tis ſurprizing how *Lewis* XII. cou'd be content with any more Securities of that Nature, after he had been impos'd upon in the ſame manner at the Treaty of *Orthez*.

28. *HENRY* VIIIth's Letter to *Thomas Wolſey* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, without a Date.

Henry's Letter to Wolſey. 403.

THIS is the Letter wherein the King gives his Miniſter an account of the Conference he had with the Duke of *Longueville*, when he only demanded the Annuity of 100000 Crowns.

H. VIII.

Lewis *grants full Powers for a Treaty with him.* 405.

29. *LEWIS* XIIth's Commiſſion to the Duke *de Longueville*, to *John de Selua* Chief Preſident of *Roan*, and to *Thomas Bohier*, *Militi Generali* * of *France*, to treat of a Peace with *Henry*; dated *July* 29, 1514. at *St. Germain en laye*.

Their Treaty of Peace 413.

30. THE Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip betwixt *Lewis* XII. and *Henry* VIII. dated *Auguſt* 7, 1514. at *London*.

Lewis's *Marriage Treaty with Princeſs* Mary. 423.

31. THE Marriage Treaty betwixt *Lewis* XII. and *Mary*. Of the ſame Date; as is alſo,

His Bond. 428.

32. *LEWIS* XIIth's Bond for the Payment of a Million of Crowns.

INSTEAD of making the leaſt mention of the Annuity, theſe were the Foundations of the Bond.

Nos igitur Oratores prædicti —— tam pro ſumma dicti Reſti ſive Reſidui nondum ſoluti, quàm pro aquitamento & redemptione Obligationis prædicti Caroli Ducis Aurelianenſis: Nec non pro ſingulari benevolentia & ſummo amore, quo Rex noſter Chriſtianiſſimus præfatum Regem Angliæ proſequitur, ac ut firmior ſit & fidelior contractæ jam inter eos amicitiæ obſervantia, nomine dicti Regis promittimus, &c.

i. e. We therefore the Ambaſſadors aforeſaid, as well for the reſidue or remainder of the ſaid Sum not yet paid, as for the Diſcharge and Redemption of the Obligation of the ſaid *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*; and alſo for the ſingular good Will and very great Affection which our Moſt Chriſtian King beareth to the ſaid King of *England*, and to the end that the Ob-

* *Bellay* in his Memoirs, gives him the Title of General of *Normandy*.

ſervation

ſervation of the Friendſhips now contracted between them, may be the more firm and hearty, do promiſe in the Name of the ſaid King, *&c* *. *A.* 1514.

33. MANY Acts follow, which are dependent on theſe Treaties and this Bond. And there are three Letters from *Lewis* XII. to *Wolſey*, in the two firſt of which, he calls him *my good Friend of* York. The one is dated at *Eſtampes Sept.* 2, 1514. the ſecond has no Date, but the third is from *Paris* in *Sept.* 1514. *The King's Letters to* Wolſey. 439, 455.

34. *LEO* Xth's Letter to the King, relating to Cardinal *Hadrian*, dated *Oct.* 31. 1514. at *Rome*. *LEO* X's *Letter to the King about Cardinal* Hadrian 467.

THIS Letter requires an Explanation. Cardinal *Hadrian* of *Cornetto*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* was the Pope's Collector in *England*, but he got *Polydore Virgil* to officiate for him as Sub-Collector. *Wolſey* aiming at the Dignity of a Cardinal, employ'd Cardinal *Hadrian*, but he betray'd him, and did him ill Offices, for which reaſon *Wolſey*, in order to be reveng'd of him, got him turn'd out of his Office of Collector, and *Polydore Virgil* to be clap'd in the *Tower* †, and he afterwards prevail'd on the King to write to the Pope, to intreat him to depoſe Cardinal *Hadrian*: to which Letter this Polydore Virgil *the Pope's Sub-Collector committed to the* Tower.

* MR. *Rapin* after, having given the Subſtance of theſe Treaties, *&c.* in his Hiſtory Vol. V. makes this juſt Reflection on the whole. 'Thus, *ſays he*, did this War 'which was undertaken, as 'pretended, for the ſake 'of Religion, and for the 'Glory of God, conclude 'by a Treaty, in which there 'was not the leaſt mention, 'either of Religion, or of 'the Pope, or of the Church.

† HE ſtay'd in Priſon about a Year, and it was owing purely to the Pope's Interceſſion, that he was then releas'd; which ill Treatment, Mr. *Rapin* thinks, was enough to make him remember all *Wolſey*'s ill Qualities in his Hiſtory of *England*.

H. VIII. from the Pope was the Anſwer. The Pope therein tells him that he had condeſcended to remove the Cardinal from the Poſt of Collector, for no other reaſon but becauſe the King had deſir'd it, and that he wou'd do even more for him, if it was not plain that he acted only at the Inſtigation of another, and not of his own Accord.

Henry's Treaties with Francis I. 473 *to* 494.

35. THE Treaties renew'd betwixt *Francis* I. and *Henry*, with a great many other Acts thereon depending. Dated in the Month of *April* and *May* 1515.

With Ferdinand. 494.

36. *FERDINAND*'s Commiſſion to renew the Alliance with *England*; dated *May* 2, 1515. at *Ventoſilla*.

With Archduke Char. 495.

37. *HENRY*'s Commiſſion to renew the Treaties with the Archduke *Charles*, Prince of *Caſtille*; dated the 7th of the ſame Month at *Weſtminſter*.

With the K. of Arragon.

38. TREATY of Friendſhip betwixt *Henry* and the King of *Arragon*; dated *Octob.* 19. 1515. at *London*.

Penſion promis'd to Wolſey. 525.

39. AN Engagement of *Michael de Abbatis*, Secretary to *Francis Sforza*, to give Cardinal *Wolſey* a Penſion of 10000 Ducats, as ſoon as his Maſter is in poſſeſſion of *Milan*.

THIS Piece being without Date and Subſcription, was probably no more than a Model or rough Draught.

Treaties with Charles *Pr. of* Caſtille. 533. 539.

40. TWO Treaties, one of Friendſhip, the other of Commerce betwixt *Henry* and *Charles* Prince of *Caſtille*; dated *Jan.* 24, 1516. at *Bruſſels*.

With the Swiſs. 547.

41. COMMISSION to *Robert Wingfield* to treat with the *Swiſſers*; dated *Feb.* 21, 1516. at *Weſtminſter*.

With the Emperor and K. of Spain. 556.

42. TREATY of defenſive Alliance betwixt the Emperor *Henry* VIII. and *Charles* of *Spain*; dated *Octob.* 29, 1516. at *London*.

43. A

43. A Commiſſion from *Leo* X. to *Nicholas Scomberg* a *German* Cordelier, to go and treat with ſeveral Princes for a League againſt the *Turks*; dated at *Rome* the Nones of *January*, 1517. *A.* 1517. *Pope ſollicits a Leag. againſt the* Turks.

44. *LEO* Xth's Letter to acquaint him of the Conſpiracy againſt him, and of the Impriſonment of two Cardinals for the ſame; dated *May* 19, 1517. at *Rome.* 578. *Conſpiracy againſt the Pope.* 589.

45. A Penſion of 3000 Livres granted to Cardinal *Wolſey* by *Charles* King of *Spain*; dated at *Ghent June* 8, 1517. Wolſey's *Penſion from the King of* Spain. 591.

CHARLES in the ſaid Grant calls him *Our moſt dear and ſpecial Friend.*

46. *LEO* Xth's Letter to the King, deſiring Aſſiſtance from him againſt the Enemies of the Church; dated *June* 20, 1517. at *Rome.* *Pope's Letter to* Henry *for his Aſſiſtance againſt the Enemies of the Church.* 592.

THIS was in order to make War upon *La Rovero*, who was ſettled again at *Urbino.* [See *Acta Regia* N° XIV. p. 138.]

47. *LEO* Xth's circular Letter to the Biſhops of *England*, commanding them to raiſe an entire Tenth upon their Clergy, in order to help him to ſupport the War of *Urbino.* 'Tis dated *Aug.* 24, 1517. at *Rome*, and has theſe Clauſes in it. *His Order to the Biſhops to raiſe a Tenth upon the* Engliſh *Clergy.* 596.

Omni Exceptione, ſive Excuſatione ceſſante, cogere & compellere eiſque in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ mandare debeas.

Quod ſi non ſuccederet, quod Nobis perſuadere non poſſumus, id potius tuâ culpâ & negligentiâ quàm aliundè eveniſſe credere cogeremur, & ad officium quod æd bonum & devotum Sedis Apoſtolicæ Epiſcopum pertinet, non ſine animi noſtri diſplicentiâ, Fraternitatem tuam defuiſſe cognoſceremus.

i. e. You muſt not admit of any Exception or Excuſe whatſoever, but force and compel them, after you have commanded them upon the Obedience they owe to the Holy See.

H. VIII. And if this shou'd not succeed, which we cannot believe, we shall be forc'd to charge it rather to your Fault and Neglect, than to any thing else, and shall be displeas'd to find you have been wanting in the Duty incumbent upon a good and devout Bishop of the Apostolical See.

Wolsey appointed Collector of the Tenths. 598.

48. *LEO* Xth's Bull, appointing Cardinal *Wolsey* Collector of the Tenths for the War of *Urbino*; dated at *Rome* the 9th of the Calends of *September* 1517.

He thereby empower'd him to excommunicate all that refus'd the Tenth, and even to deprive them of their Benefices.

Cardinal's Letter to Henry *about the Croisade.* 603.

49. A Letter from the College of Cardinals to the King about the Affair of the Croisade; dated *Jan.* 8, 1518. at *Rome.*

They represent to him, that the *Turks* having already destroy'd the Empire of the *Mammelucs* in *Egypt*, will infallibly fall upon *Europe*; that their Designs must necessarily be prevented, *&c.* Therefore they pray him to send some Person to *Rome* with a Power to agree upon such Preparations as shall be thought necessary.

Wolsey made the Pope's Legat a Latere. 606.

50. *LEO* Xth's Bull, appointing Cardinal *Wolsey* Legat *a Latere* in *England*, jointly with Cardinal *Campaggio* *; dated at *Rome* the 16th of the Calends of *June* 1518. It has this Clause, *viz.* *Recte*

* Before he made his Entry into *London*, which was on the 29th of *July*, *Wolsey* being inform'd that he had a mean Equipage, sent him 12 Mules with Coffers, which as Lord *Herbert* say, were richly cover'd, but some of them being return'd in *Cheapside* and broke, were found to be empty. Another Author of good Credit, who calls his *History of* England in two Volumes 8vo, a faithful Extract from authentick Records, approved Manuscripts, *&c.* says, that tho the Coffers were as rich to all appearance, as if they contain'd

A. 1518.

Rectè ſcientes & meritò quidem quanta ſit circumſpectionis tuæ apud eundem Regem gratia & auctoritas, quid etiam tuo magno prudentive conſilio, acrique ingenio rectè ac facilè perſuadere & diſſuadere ſcias & poſſis, &c.

i. e. Knowing full well what Favour and Authority you juſtly have with the ſaid King, and that ſuch is your great Wiſdom and Ingenuity, that you can eaſily perſuade or diſſuade him as you pleaſe, *&c.*

51. Letter from the Cardinal *de Medicis* to the King, to acquaint him of the Degradation of Cardinal *Hadrian* of *Cornetto*: dated *July* 5, 1518. at *Rome*. *Cardinal Hadrian's Degradation.* 607.

He wou'd fain perſuade the King that the Cardinal *Hadrian* was depos'd purely to do him a Pleaſure: but *Guicciardin* gives us to underſtand that the Cardinal had been concern'd in a Conſpiracy againſt the Pope.

52. The Privilege granted by *Leo* X. to his two Legats, *Wolſey* and *Campeggio*; dated the 6th of the Calends of *Auguſt* 1518. at *Rome*. It was this, *viz.* *Pope's extraordinary Privilege to Wolſey and his Brother Legat.* 609.

Ut toties quoties aliquis Veſtrûm Miſſam coram eiſdem Rege & Regina aut alteri ex eis, celebraverit, Omnibus & ſingulis utriuſque ſexus Chriſti Fidelibus veré pœnitentibus & confeſſis, ſeu Propoſitum confitendi habentibus, & celebrationi Miſſæ hujuſmodi, ſeu ſaltem Benedictioni ſuper populum largiendæ intereſſentibus, Plenariam peccatorum ſuo-

tain'd half the Treaſure of *Rome*, yet when the Lids flew open, they ſhew'd nothing but *Old Breeches, Boots and Shoes, broken Meat, Marrow-Bones, Cruſts of Bread, and the like Trumpery*: which caus'd great Laughter amongſt the Spectators.

rum

H. VIII. *rum Remiſſionem & Indulgentiam relaxandi atque concedendi Auctoritate Apoſtolicâ Tenore Præſentium Facultatem concedimus pariter & elargimur.*

i. e. That as often as either of you ſhall celebrate Maſs before the ſaid King and Queen, or either of them, we empower you by theſe Preſents to grant plenary Remiſſion of Sins and Indulgence, by the Apoſtolical Authority, to all and every Believer in Chriſt of either Sex, who is truly Penitent and has confeſs'd, or intends to confeſs, provided they are preſent at ſuch Maſs, or even at the Benediction of the People.

Wolſey's Penſion from the K. of Fra. 610.

53. LETTERS Patent of *Francis* I. whereby he grants Cardinal *Wolſey* a Penſion of 12000 Livres, to make him amends for relinquiſhing the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*; dated at *Angers July* 31, 1518. See p. 140 of this Volume of *Acta Regia*.

Henry's Treaty with the Emperor, &c. 624.

54. A Treaty of Defenſive Alliance for five Years between the Emperor and the Kings of *France*, *England* and *Spain*, for the Defence of their Dominions; dated at *London Octob.* 2, 1518.

THO the real View of thoſe Princes in this Alliance was to put themſelves in a condition to reſiſt the *Turks*, if they ſhou'd be attack'd by them, the *Turks* were not ſo much as nam'd in it, notwithſtanding all the Pope's Efforts to engage them in an offenſive Treaty.

His Daughter's Marriage Treaty with the Dauphin, 632.

55. THE Marriage Treaty betwixt the Dauphin *Francis*, and *Mary* who was *Henry*'s Daughter; dated *Octob.* 4, 1518. at *London* *.

* THIS Marriage was to be celebrated as ſoon as the Dauphin was 14 Years of Age; and each of the two Kings engag'd to pay 500000 Crowns in caſe the Marriage ſhou'd be put off by his means.

56. TREATY

56. TREATY for the Reſtitution of *Tournay*; another againſt Depredations on either ſide. Another of Peace and Friendſhip betwixt *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII. and another for the Interview of the two Kings; dated at *London* as above. A. 1518.

Other Treaties betwixt Francis *and* Henry *about* Tournay, *and Interview*, &c. 642, 649.

THERE are many Acts which are dependent on theſe Treaties, from p. 633 to 681.

57. *LEO* Xth's Bull, declaring his Acceſſion to the abovemention'd Treaty, concluded at *London* the 2d of *October*; dated *Dec.* 31, 1518. at *Rome*.

Pope's Acceſſion to the Treaty of London. 681.

58. THE full Power which *Francis* I. granted to Cardinal *Wolſey* to ſettle the Time, Place and Form of the Interview, *&c.* [as in p. 141 of this Volume.] 'Tis dated *Jan.* 10, 1519. at the Caſtle of *Luſignan*.

Wolſey's *full Power from the* K. *of* Fra. *to ſettle the Interview with* K. Henry. 691.

59. ANOTHER of the ſame Nature; dated *Feb.* 23, 1519. at *Cogniac*.

60. THE Regulation made by Cardinal *Wolſey* for the Interview of the two Kings; dated *March* 12, 1520. at his Reſidence near *Weſtminſter*.

His Regulation of it. 705.

61. *CHARLES* Vth's Letters Patent, whereby he engag'd to procure the Biſhoprick of *Badajox* for Cardinal *Wolſey*, and a Penſion of 2000 Ducats upon the Biſhoprick of *Palencia*; dated at *Compoſtella March* 29, 1520. See *Acta Regia* N° XIV. p. 142. It was to be done,

Charles Vth's *Engagement to give* Wolſey *the Biſhoprick of* Badajox, *&c.* 714.

Intra duos menſes, & antequam conventu ipſius Regis Angliæ Avunculi noſtri recedamus, &c.

i. e. Within two Months after the Date thereof, and before our Departure from the Interview with our ſaid Uncle the King of *England*.

62. A

H. VIII.

Treaty of Commerce with the Netherlands 714.

62. A Provisional Treaty of Commerce betwixt *England* and the *Netherlands*; dated *April* 11, 1520. at *London*.

Henry's Treaty with Francis. 719.

63. TREATY betwixt *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII. concluded at the Interview of the two Kings, betwixt *Andres* and *Guisnes*; dated *June* 6, 1520. 'Tis mention'd *Acta Regia* N° XIV. p. 142.

Wolsey's Pension on the Bishoprick of Palencia. 725.

64. *LEO* Xth's Bull, for settling on Cardinal *Wolsey* a Pension of 2000 Ducats upon the Bishoprick of *Palencia* in *Spain*. 'Tis dated *July* 29, 1520. at *Rome*.

Henry *appointed Mediator of the quarrel betwixt the Emperor and* Fra. 748.

65. LETTERS Patent of *Francis* I. empowering *Henry* to regulate the Differences with the Emperor; dated *July* 1, 1521. [*Acta Regia* N° XIV. p. 144.]

66. *HENRY's* Letters Patent, appointing Cardinal *Wolsey* his Lieutenant and Deputy for the Congress of *Calais*; dated *July* 29, 1521. at *London*.

His ample Commission to treat. 750.

67. *HENRY's* Commission to the Cardinal to treat with the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, &c. dated as above.

The Treaty of Calais. 752.

68. THE Treaty concluded at *Calais*, *Octob.* 11, 1521.

THE principal Article of this Treaty was the Provision made for the safe Return of the Plenipotentiaries.

Francis *calls on* Henry *for Aid against the Emperor.* 764.

69. THE Letters Patent of *Francis* I. calling for Succours from *Henry* against the Emperor, in pursuance of the Alliance concluded at *London* on the 2d of *October* 1518. They are dated *Feb.* 23, 1522. at *St. Germain en laye*. [*Acta Regia* N° XIV. p. 145.]

Wolsey's *Pensions from the Emperor.* 769.

70. THE Engagement of the Emperor *Charles* V. to pay a Pension of 9000 Crowns of Gold to Cardinal *Wolsey*, to make him amends for the Pension of 12000 Livres which he receiv'd

from the King of *France*, for his relinquiſhing the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*; dated at *London* *June* 8, 1522. *A.* 1522.

71. ANOTHER of the ſame Nature, to compenſate him for the Penſion of 2000 Ducats which *Leo* X. had granted him out of the Biſhoprick of *Badajox*, dated at *Walton-Caſtle* *July* 3, 1522. 770.

72. THE Emperor's Letter to Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated at *Valladolid Nov.* 11, 1522. It begins thus. *Emperor's Letter to him.* 776.

My Lord Cardinal, my good Friend,

'I Have receiv'd yours, *&c.*—— And thank 'you for the Zeal you always diſcover for 'my Perſon and Affairs, deſiring you to con-'tinue it, as I firmly truſt you will. You 'know that I have my entire Confidence in 'you.—— And I deſire you to credit my Am-'baſſadors as much as my ſelf, and to approve 'your ſelf upon this urgent Occaſion, to be 'what I eſteem you, my Right Truſty Friend, 'for I ſhall always remember it.

73. A Letter from the Doge of *Venice*, to congratulate the Cardinal upon the Title of Defender of the Faith, granted to the King by the deceaſed Pope; dated *March* 17, 1523. at *Venice*. *Doge of* Venice *his Letter to* Wolſey. 786.

74. A Calculation of what may be the monthly Expence of the Army which Monſieur *de Bourbon* intends to carry into *France* in the Name of the Emperor. *Computation of the monthly Expence of the Emperor's Army in* France.

ACCORDING to this Reckoning, the Expence of the Army wou'd amount to 104100 Crowns *per* Month.—— 'Tis probable that this 795.

H. VIII. this Piece which has no Date to it, is misplac'd in the middle of the Year 1523.

ARTICLE II. Henry VIIIth's *Affairs with* Scotland.

Henry *renews the Peace with* Scotland.

WHEN *Henry* VIII. came to the Crown, he took care to renew the Peace with *Scotland*, as well as with other States. And afterwards, when he was perſuaded into a War with *France*, he us'd all the Precautions poſſible to prevent a Rupture with King *James* IV. his Brother-in-Law, by endeavouring to accommodate the Differences which might give any occaſion or pretext for it. But all was to no purpoſe, for it was not poſſible to hinder *Scotland* from aſſiſting *France*, from whence upon all occaſions the *Scots* receiv'd in their turn powerful Protection, or elſe they would have been ſubdued by the *Engliſh* long before. It was a fundamental Maxim of the Policy of that Nation to adhere conſtantly to the Intereſts of *France*: Therefore notwithſtanding all the Care which the Kings of *England* took to have it inſerted in the Treaties of Peace, that it ſhou'd not be lawful for either of the two Kings to give aſſiſtance to the Enemies of the other; it ſeems that the *Scots* pretended that *France* was naturally out of the Queſtion. At leaſt they did not think that when the King of *England* was the Aggreſſor, they were hinder'd by this Clauſe from aſſiſting their antient Ally the Kingdom of *France*. For this reaſon, the Deſign which *Henry* VIII. had form'd in 1512, to make War againſt *France*, was no ſooner divulg'd, than *James* IV. made a League with *Lewis* XII. of which *Henry* being inform'd, gave Orders to the Earl of *Surry*, before he left

Scotland's *conſtant adherence to* France.

James IV. *League with that Nation.*

left *England*, to oppoſe the Invaſion which he had reaſon to expect from the North. *A.* 1513.

He was no ſooner gone, but the King of *Scotland* ſent a Herald to him, with a Challenge, dated *July* 16, 1513. wherein he declared War againſt him if he did not deſiſt from that which he had undertaken againſt *France*. *Henry* receiv'd this Letter while he lay before *Terouenne*, and being not very quick in his Anſwer, *James* enter'd *England* at the Head of an Army, and there made himſelf Maſter of *Norham*. Not many days after, the Earl of *Surry* coming up with him, they met at *Flodden-field*, where on the 9th of *September* they join'd Battle, in which the *Scots* Army was defeated, and the King of *Scotland* kill'd *. The *Engliſh* ſaid they found the Corpſe, and ſent it to *London*, but the *Scots* aſſerted it was not the Corpſe of their King, and yet they cou'd not ſay what became of it, becauſe it was never ſeen afterwards. *Henry* wanted the Pope's Permiſſion to inter it in St. *Paul's* Church, becauſe the deceaſed had been excommunicated by Cardinal *Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *York*, in purſuance of a Bull of *Julius* II. which excommunicated all the Adherents of *France*.

He challenges K. Henry.

Invades England *and takes* Norham.

But is kill'd at Flodden-field.

Henry *petitions the Pope for leave to bury his Corpſe in St.* Paul's *Church.*

JAMES IV. left two Sons, the eldeſt of which being of his own Name ſucceeded him,

The Acceſſion of James V. *of* Scotland.

* Lord *Herbert* ſays, that moſt of the Nobility that attended the King in the Field, together with one Archbiſhop, two Biſhops, and four Abbats, and about 10000 others were kill'd on the ſide of the *Scots*. On our ſide, ſays *Polydore Virgil*, there dy'd about 5000. Biſhop *Godwin* ſays, that of the *Scots* Nobility there fell twelve Earls and ſeventeen Barons, and of the common Soldiers 8000; and that the number of thoſe taken Priſoners was much the ſame, beſides the Loſs of all their Ordnance, and almoſt all their Enſigns. But the *Scots* ſay there were but 500 kill'd on each ſide.

tho

H. VIII. tho but two Years of Age, by the Title of *James* V. The Father had by his laſt Will and Teſtament appointed his Wife *Margaret*, who was *Henry* VIIIth's Siſter, to be Regent during the Minority of his Son, or at leaſt while ſhe remain'd in her ſtate of Widowhood; which, according to a Remark of *Buchanan*, was the firſt Inſtance that was ever known of the Regency of *Scotland's* being put into the Hands of a Woman. Mean time the States, did not oppoſe it, becauſe they hop'd that *Henry* out of Regard to the Queen his Siſter, wou'd not take his Advantage of *Scotland*, which at that time was in a very low Condition.

His Mother made Regent.

Her Marriage.

THE Queen being marry'd again, not long after * to *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, the States diſpos'd of the Regency in favour of the Duke of *Albany*, who was the neareſt Relation to the young King by the Father's ſide. This Duke who had never been in *Scotland*, was at that time in *France*, where he was born. He was Son to that Duke of *Albany* whom I formerly mention'd, who retiring into *France*, dy'd there, and left his Family ſettled in that Country. The Nomination of this Regent being made in 1514, ſome time before the Death of *Lewis* XII. the ſaid Prince hinder'd him from going to *Scotland* for fear of diſobliging *Henry* VIII. who was diſguſted with the *Scots* for depriving the Queen his Siſter of the Regency, and giving it to a Prince born and bred in *France*, and altogether devoted to that Crown. *Francis* I. did as *Lewis* XII. had done, and retain'd the Duke of *Albany* in *France*, till the Treaty betwixt *France* and *England* was renew'd: So that the Duke of *Albany* did not

D. of Albany *made Regent.*

He is detain'd in France.

* *Auguſt* 6, 1514. according to Lord *Herbert*.

arrive

arrive in *Scotland* till the 18th of *May* 1515. During his abſence Factions were form'd in *Scotland*, which very much diſturbed the Tranquillity of that Kingdom. When the new Regent arriv'd there, he found that the *Engliſh* Party was very powerful, and that *Henry* concern'd himſelf a little too much in the Affairs of that Kingdom, on pretence that he was the young King's Uncle. He did ſomething to prevent it, but it was not poſſible for him entirely to cruſh the *Engliſh* Faction, which was ſupported by the Queen Mother, and *Henry* VIII. *A.* 1515. *Factions in* Scotland.

I have already taken notice of the endeavours which *Henry* us'd in 1516, for procuring a League againſt *France*, and for renewing the War. The Duke of *Albany* being a Thorn in his Side, becauſe, as he rightly judg'd, the Duke wou'd not fail to take the part of *Francis* I. he attempted to deprive him of the Regency. For this end, he accus'd him of aiming at the Crown; and pretending to be very anxious for the Life of the King his Nephew, he deſir'd the States to nominate another Regent, or elſe he himſelf wou'd provide for the Security of the young King. But the States return'd him an Anſwer which convinc'd him they did not deſign to be directed by his Counſels. Mean time the Duke of *Albany* being willing to keep fair with him, deſir'd a Truce of him, and offer'd to go to *England* in Perſon to pay him his Devoirs. This Complaiſance, and the Difficulties *Henry* met with in the execution of the Project he had form'd againſt *France*, made him conſent to a Truce with *Scotland*, which was afterwards prolong'd to the end of the Year 1517. Henry *aims to get the D. of* Albany *remov'd from the Regency.* *His Truce with* Scotland.

H. VIII.

HENRY not being able to prevail with the States of *Scotland* to deprive the Duke of *Albany* of the Regency, found out another Expedient, in which he had better Succeſs. The Duke going to *France* in 1517. *Henry* made a ſecret Treaty with *Francis* I. by which *Francis* engag'd to keep the Duke of *Albany* in *France*; and he actually hinder'd him from returning into *Scotland*. During which abſence of the Regent, *Henry* fomented Diviſions among the *Scots*, with a deſign probably to make his advantage thereof, whenever an opportunity preſented. But the War in which he was afterwards engag'd, by ſiding with *Charles* V. againſt *France*, broke the Meaſures which he might have taken with reſpect to *Scotland*.

His ſecret Treaty with the K. of Fra. *to keep the D. of* Albany *from returning home.*

THE Congreſs which was held at *Calais* in 1521. having convinc'd *Francis* I. of *Henry*'s Partiality for the Emperor, he naturally ſuppos'd that he ſhou'd not be long at Peace with *England*. Therefore he made haſte to ſend back the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*, who arriv'd at *Edinburgh* in *October* 1521. after four Months abſence. As ſoon as he came thither, he took all the meaſures poſſible to humble the *Engliſh* Faction, and oblig'd Earl *Douglas*, who was the Queen's Husband, to retire to *France*. But notwithſtanding this it was not in his Power to do all that he wiſh'd to make the *French* Party ſuperior to the *Engliſh*.

The Duke's return to Scotland.

He forces the E. of Angus *to retire to* France.

HENRY being very ſenſible what the King of *France* had in view when he ſent back the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland*, wrote a Letter to the States of the Realm, which was full of Invectives againſt the Regent; and threaten'd them with a War if they did not expel him the Kingdom: and he actually ſent a Herald to the Duke with a Summons to retire. The Regent return'd

Henry *ſummons the Duke to depart the Kingdom.*

return'd a very modeſt Anſwer to the King of *England*'s Charge againſt him: but the States gave him an Anſwer that was more ſmart, in which they told him in plain Terms, that he himſelf was the only Author of the Troubles in *Scotland*. *A.* 1513.

His and the States of Scotland's *Anſwer.*

IF the Duke of *Albany* had had never ſo good an intention to ſerve *France*, it was not in his Power. He rais'd an Army indeed, and actually carry'd it to the Frontiers. But when they were debating about their entrance into *England*, he was on a ſudden abandon'd by a great part of the Nobility, who refus'd to accompany him any further. For this reaſon he propos'd a Truce to the *Engliſh*, to which *Henry* readily conſented, becauſe a Diverſion from *Scotland* cou'd not but be very troubleſom to him: And when the Truce was renew'd, the Duke of *Albany* return'd to *Francis* I.

The D. of Albany *invades the* Engliſh *Frontier, but is abandon'd by his Nobility.*

He returns to the Fr. *Court.*

AS for the Acts relating to *Scotland*, we find none in the *Fœdera* from the Year 1509 to 1513. but Safe-Conducts for the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland*, and Commiſſions to negotiate with *James* IV. without any particular Treaty. The chief Acts that follow in the Year 1513, *&c.* are,

1. *HENRY*'s Anſwer to the King of *Scotland*'s Charter of Defiance; dated in the Camp before *Terouenne Auguſt* 12, 1513.

Henry's Anſwer to the K. of Scotland's *Challenge.*

THIS Anſwer is very ſharp; *Henry* tells the King of *Scotland*, 'That he is not ſurpriz'd 'at his Inſincerity, becauſe in this he has on- 382.
'ly copy'd after his Predeceſſors, who never 'kept Faith and Promiſe longer than pleas'd 'them. He threatens to cut off all Hopes 'from him and his Poſterity of ever ſucceed- 'ing to the Crown of *England*. He ſets be-

H. VIII. 'fore his Eyes the Example of the King of 'Navarre, who for his devotion to *France* loſt 'his Kingdom, while *Lewis* XII. gave himſelf 'no Trouble to reſtore him. In ſhort, he tells 'him that he will never forget this Affront, 'and hopes by the help of God and his Pa-'tron St. *George* to be reveng'd on him.'

WHETHER the King of *Scotland* receiv'd this Anſwer is uncertain; for he took the Field without ſtaying for it, and was kill'd about a Month after at the Battle of *Floddenfield*, which lies near the *Cheviot-Hills*.

Pope's Licence to bury the Corpſe of K. James in England. 385.

2. *LEO* Xth's Brief or Licence to *Henry*, to inter the Corpſe of the King of *Scotland* in St. *Paul's* Church *London*; dated at *Rome Nov.* 29, 1513. The Pope concludes it thus.

Nos in hoc tam pio & laude digniſſimo deſiderio tuo, ſicut in cæteris, morem Majeſtati tuæ gerere cupientes, attendenteſque, ut dicitur & credi debet, idem Jacobus Scotorum Rex, ante obitum, dum in extremis ageret, erratorum memor, aliqua ſigna pœnitentiæ, quæ tali tempore poterant, dedit, licentiam & facultatem concedimus, &c.

Committentes & mandantes venerabili Ricardo Londonienſi Epiſcopo, ut ipſum quondam Regem, antequam ejus Corpus ſepeliatur, ab omnibus Excommunicationum laqueis, ad hunc effectum duntaxat, ut in loco ſacro poſſit commodè ſepeliri, auctoritate noſtrâ abſolvat; injunctâ ſuper hoc Majeſtati tuæ, nomine ipſius Regis, aliquâ conveniente Pœnitentiâ quam adimplere tenearis.

i. e. We being deſirous to gratify your Majeſty in this ſo pious and moſt praiſe-worthy Requeſt, as well as in other things; and conſidering that, as 'tis reported, and credibly too, the ſaid *James* King of *Scots* calling to mind his Tranſgreſſions, when he was in the Hour

Hour of Death, gave as many ſigns of Repentance as he poſſibly cou'd at that time; do grant Leave and Power, *&c.* *A.* 1515.

Commiſſioning and commanding the Right Reverend *Richard* Biſhop of *London*, that he do by our Authority abſolve the ſaid King before his Corpſe is bury'd from all Excommunication; to this effect only, that it may be decently interr'd in Holy Ground, and upon condition that your Majeſty do in his Name undergo ſome convenient Penance *.

3. Letter from *James* V. to the Pope; dated *July* 3, 1515. at *Edinburgh*. James V. *Letter to the Pope.* 513.

He acquaints him of the arrival of the Regent, and then complains againſt the King of *England*, becauſe he aſſum'd the Style and Title of Protector of *Scotland*, and becauſe under that pretext the Pope confer'd the Biſhopricks and Abbeys of *Scotland* at his Recommendation. He deſires him to forbear diſpoſing of the Benefices of *Scotland* for the future, at the Recommendation of Foreign Princes; *niſi Sanctitas veſtra aliis gratificans Regnum hoc vetuſtiſſimum perditum ire volet*, i. e. unleſs your Holineſs by gratifying others has a mind to let this moſt antient Kingdom run to Ruin.

4. The Anſwer of the *Scots* Parliament to the King of *England*, relating to the Duke of *Albany*; dated *July* 4, 1516. at *Edinburgh*. Scots *Parliament's Anſwer to* K. Henry. 550.

From that time we find nothing in this Volume relating to *Scotland*, but ſhort Prolongations of the Truce betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; a Proclamation by the King on ac-

* The Lord *Herbert*, who ſays the Corpſe was embalm'd, and brought firſt to *Newcaſtle*, and then to *Sheen* in *Surry*, ſeems very doubtful whether it was ever bury'd in any conſecrated Place, becauſe of this Penance enjoin'd upon King *Henry*.

H. VIII. count of the Invaſion deſign'd by the Duke of *Albany* in 1523. and a Commiſſion from *Henry* in that very Year, to agree about a Dyet, therein to treat of a Peace or Truce.

Acts relating to Domeſtick Affairs.

King of Spain *renews the Treaty with* Henry. 249.

1. A Commiſſion from *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* to the Count *de Fuenſalida*, to renew the Treaty of Alliance with *Henry* VIII. and that for *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catherine* Princeſs of *Wales*; dated *May* 11, 1509. at *Valladolid*.

Catherin's *Reſignation of her Dowry to* Henry. 251.

2. An Act whereby *Catherine* Princeſs of *Wales* gives up her Dowry of 200000 Crowns in favour of her Marriage with *Henry* VIII. and conſents that the ſame ſhall never be demanded again of *Henry* in any caſe whatſoever; dated at *Greenwich June* 7, 1509.

The like Renunciation by the K. *and* Q. *of* Spain. 253, 254.

3. The like Renunciations of the Count *de Fuenſalida*, in the name of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Joan* Queen of *Caſtile*, by virtue of his full Powers; dated *June* 9, 1509.

Remarks on thoſe Acts.

'Tis proper to obſerve upon theſe three Acts, That tho *Henry* had been eſpous'd to *Catherine* his Siſter-in-Law, yet by order of the King his Father, he had made a ſecret Proteſt againſt this Marriage *. *Ferdinand* cou'd not but ſee that neither *Henry* VII. nor the Prince his Son were very fond of conſummating the Marriage, becauſe *Henry* was eighteen Years of Age at the Death of the King his Father: And as ſoon as he came to the Crown, he propos'd it to the Conſideration of his Council, whether

* Bishop *Burnet* ſays, it was made on the very Day he came of Age, and that his Father charg'd him at his Death to break it off entirely.

it

it was proper that the Marriage, to which he had a Secret averſion, ſhou'd be conſummated. *Warham* Archiſhop of *Canterbury* oppos'd it to his utmoſt, ſaying it was contrary to the Law of God, and that by conſequence *Julius* II's Diſpenſation was null. *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* maintain'd on the contrary, that the Diſpenſation was ſufficient. In this caſe one wou'd have thought Prudence ſhou'd have determin'd *Henry* to the ſureſt ſide of the Queſtion, namely, not to conſummate the Marriage. But *Fox*, who had been bred up in the School of *Henry* VII. the moſt covetous Prince upon Earth, alledg'd in favour of the Marriage, that if *Catherine* ſhou'd be ſent back, ſhe muſt have her Portion along with her. 'Tis very probable that it had been objected by one or other of the contrary Party, that, even tho the Marriage ſhou'd be conſummated, a Caſe might happen when the Reſtoration of the Portion wou'd be unavoidable, becauſe *Catherine* might die without Iſſue. It was no doubt for this reaſon that the Renunciation contain'd in thoſe Acts, was demanded of *Catherine* and *Ferdinand*, in order to ſtop the Mouths of ſuch as ſhou'd oppoſe the Marriage.

A. 1510. *Arguments in Council about* Henry's *Marriage with* Catherine.

4. THE Denization of *Polydore Virgil*; dated *October* 2, 1510. at *Weſtminſter*.

Polydore Virgil *made a Denizen of* England. 290.

THEY make a Difference in *England* betwixt Denization and Naturalization. The King may make a Denizen by his Charter; but for Naturalization there muſt be an Act of Parliament.

5. TWO Letters from the Pope, and Cardinal *Julius de Medicis*, to Cardinal *Wolſey*, in favour of *Polydore Virgil*. The former dated at *Rome*

Letters to Wolſey *from the Pope*, &c. *in favour of* Polydore. 515, 516.

H. VIII. *Rome Aug.* 13. and the latter at *Bologna Sept.* 3, 1515.

Pope's Bull againſt Abuſes among the Clergy. 532.

6. *LEO* Xth's Bull, concerning Abuſes among the inferior Clergy; dated at *Florence* the Day before the Ides of *February* 1516.

THE Pope having been inform'd that ſome in *England* receiv'd the Tonſure for no other reaſon but to be exempt from Lay Juriſdiction, orders that for the ſpace of 5 Years, the Tonſure alone ſhall not be given without all the minor Orders, and that of Subdeacon; and that if any contravene the ſame, he may be try'd by the Lay Courts, as much as if he was no Clergyman.

Who are permitted to read Luther's *Books.* 742.

7. *LEO* Xth's Bull, empowering the Cardinal Legat to permit the reading of *Luther*'s Books, to ſuch as do it with a deſign to confute them; dated the 15th of the Calends of *May* 1521.

Pope's Bull ſtyling K. Henry Defender of the Faith. 756.

8. HIS Bull for conferring on King *Henry* VIII. the Title of *Defender of the Faith*; dated the 5th of the Ides of *October* 1521. at *Rome.*

IN this XIIIth Volume of the *Fœdera*, the ſaid Bull is engrav'd from the Original, ſhewing the very Hand-writing of the Cardinals to it.

His Thanks to Henry *for the Dedication to him of his Book againſt* Luther. 758.

9. *LEO* Xth's Letter of Thanks to *Henry* for the Dedication of his Book againſt *Luther*; dated *Nov.* 4, 1521. at *Rome* *.

THIS

* THIS Book, being a Defence of the ſeven Sacraments, was ſent to the Pope richly bound; and the Lord *Herbert* ſays, he ſaw the Preſent it ſelf in the Vatican Library at *Rome.* It was cry'd up by the Clergy as the moſt Learned Piece that ever the Sun ſhone upon; and the King was compar'd to *Solomon*, and to all the Chriſtian Emperors. But *Luther*, proud of ſuch an Antagoniſt, anſwer'd it, and treated him as much below the Reſpect

This Letter is ſtuff'd throughout with Flatteries of the King, on account of his Book; of which this only may ſerve for a Proof. A. 1515.

Quaſi reputantes, non ſine permiſſu divino, erupiſſe, adverſus Chriſti Eccleſiam, Lutheranam hanc Impietatem, ut ipſa majore cum gloria talem Propugnatorem & Defenſorem ſortiri poſſit.

i. e. Being inclin'd to think that this wicked Lutheraniſm broke out againſt the Church of Chriſt, not without the Divine Permiſſion, that it might have the greater Glory in obtaining ſuch a Protector and Defender.

10. Treaty of Alliance betwixt *Henry* VIII. and *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*; dated *June* 30, 1523. at *London*. *Treaty with the K. of* Denmark. 798.

CHRISTIERN having been turn'd out of his Dominions, was at that time in *England* †.

Reſpect due to a King, as his Flatterers had rais'd him above it.

Some think that *Stephen Gardiner* and Sir *Thomas More* had the Pains of compoſing that Book, tho their Prince had the Honour of it. And as to the Title beſtow'd on him for it by the Pope, Dr. *Fuller* in his *Church-Hiſtory* tells us, there went a Tradition, that *Patch* the King's Fool perceiving the King very jocund one Day, ask'd him the reaſon; and that when the King told him it was becauſe he had an Honour confer'd on him more than any of his Anceſtors, reciting the ſaid Title of *Defender of the Faith*, the Fool made this arch Reply, *Prithee good* Harry, *let Thee and I defend one another, and let the* FAITH *alone to defend it ſelf.* Tho *Henry* was fonder of this than all his other Titles, yet *Spelman* has remark'd, that ſeveral of the former Kings of *England* bore the ſame Title.

† Mr. *Rapin* obſerves in his Hiſtory, that it was no wonder that *Chriſtiern* was receiv'd by *Henry* more like a Prince under Oppreſſion, than a barbarous Tyrant as he was, becauſe his Queen was Siſter to the Emperor by whoſe Intereſt *Wolſey* hop'd to be advanc'd to the Papal Dignity.

Acts

Acts relating to Cardinal Wolsey.

Grants to Wolsey. 269.

1. A grant to *Thomas Wolsey* Dean of *Lincoln*, of a House that had belong'd to *Empson*; dated *Jan.* 30, 1510. at *Westminster* *.

Of a Prebend at Windsor. 293.

2. GRANT to *Wolsey* of a Prebend at *Windsor*; dated *Feb.* 17, 1511. at *Westminster*.

Of the Bishoprick of Lincoln. 390 *to* 393.

3. BULLS for the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, confer'd upon *Wolsey*; dated the 8th of the Ides of *February* 1514. at *Rome*.

Of the Abbey of Bermondsey. 405.

4. A Grant to *Thomas Wolsey* of the Power of nominating to the *Abbey* of *Bermondsey*, when it shall be vacant; dated *June* 24, 1514. at *Otford* †.

Of the Archbishoprick of York. 450.

5. BULLS for the Archbishoprick of *York*, confer'd upon *Wolsey*; dated the 17th of the Calends of *October* 1514.

6. THE Creation and Oath of *Wolsey* as Chancellor of *England*, *Dec.* 22, 1515.

Of making out Conge d' Elires. 606.

7. A Power given to Cardinal *Wolsey* to grant *Conge d' Eslires*, or the Royal Assent to Nominations for Bishopricks, and to order the Restitution of Temporalities; dated *May* 16, 1518. at *Woodstock*.

Of the Bishoprick of Bath *and* Wells. 610.

8. A Bull for conferring on *Wolsey* the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, vacant by the Deprivation of Cardinal *Hadrian*; dated the 3d of the Calends of *August* 1518, at *Rome*. It has this Clause.

Nos cupientes ut Statum tuum juxta Cardinalatûs exigentiam dignitatis, decentiùs tenere valeas, de

* THIS was the Parsonage House, with twelve Gardens, Orchards, *&c.* betwixt the *Thames* and *St. Brides* in *Fleetstreet*.

† THIS is a Town in *Kent*, where *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* built a Palace in this Reign, which 'tis said cost him 33000 *l.*

alicujus

alicujus ſubventionis auxilio providere Eccleſias ipſas unitas etiam cum Sanctæ Cæciliæ de Urbe, quæ Titulus tui Cardinalatûs exiſtit, & Eboracenſis cui præeſſe dignoſceris, aliiſque Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis & Beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis quæ in Titulum vel Commendam aut aliàs obtines, & in poſterum obtinebis, aut Penſionibus annuis, quas percipis, aut percipies in futurum——commendamus. A. 1517.

i. e. It being our Deſire to make farther Proviſion for you, that you may be enabled the more decently to ſupport your Dignity of Cardinal, we commend thoſe united Churches to you, together with *Sta Cecilia's, de Urbe,* which is the Title of your Cardinalſhip, the See of *York,* over which you are known to preſide, and the other Churches, Monaſteries and Eccleſiaſtical Benefices which you do now, or ſhall hereafter enjoy by Title, in *Commendam,* or otherwiſe, or with the annual Penſions which you ſhall receive now or hereafter.

9. Two Bulls of *Leo* X. ſhewing the ſeveral Prolongations of the Term of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Legateſhip; dated at *Rome* the 8th of the Ides of *January,* and the Calends of *April* 1521. *Of the Legateſhip.* 734, 739, 795.

10. A Bull of *Adrian* VI. granting the Abbey of St. *Alban* to Cardinal *Wolſey,* to hold it in *Commendam* during his Life; dated the 6th of the Ides of *November* 1522. at *Rome.* *Of the Abbey of St. Alban.* 775.

11. The Bulls of *Adrian* VI. conferring the Biſhoprick of *Durham* on Cardinal *Wolſey,* without prejudice to his other Benefices; dated the 7th of the Calends of *April* 1523. at *Rome.* *Of the Biſhoprick of Durham,* 784, 785, 795.

12. A Bull of *Adrian* VI. which prolongs the Legateſhip of *Wolſey* for five Years after the Expiration of the five laſt Years granted by *Leo* X. dated at *Rome* the Day before the Ides of *June* 1523.

There

H. VIII. THERE are many other Acts of some importance to History, which for Brevity sake we are oblig'd to pass over, and shall proceed now to give an account of the XIVth Tome of Mr. *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*.

THE Fourteenth Volume takes in the Acts of this Reign for twenty Years, *viz.* from *July* 1523, to *July* 1543. It cannot have a better Introduction than Mr. *Rymer*'s Dedication of it to the Queen, as follows.

Most Excellent Sovereign,

'IN this Volume you give the World a 'View of what was transacted within the 'Compass of twenty Years, from the 15th to 'the 35th of *HENRY* VIII. your Majesty's 'Predecessor of most Noble Memory.

'NOTHING of publick Affairs in *Europe*, 'Ecclesiastical or Civil, were transacted with-'out his Countenance or Direction. His Ti-'tle, *Defender of the Faith*, is repeated and con-'firm'd to him with the highest Applause, and 'in a most solemn manner.

'AND now it is that he casts a particular 'Eye on his two Universities, *Cambridge* and '*Oxford*: Schools and Colleges are every 'where, for the advancement of Learning, 'founded and endowed; and with the utmost 'Application they proceed to improve and cul-'tivate the liberal Sciences and good Litera-'ture.

'NOW it is that we hear of the *Hebrew Lec-'tures*, and the *Linacre Lectures*; now is our 'Holy Bible printed in *English*, as are also the '*Grayle*, the *Antiphoner*, the *Hymptual*, the '*Portans*, and the other Books for Divine Ser-'vice of the *Use of Sarum*: And to set the

'Church

'Church in a clearer Light, inſtead of the ill-
'digeſted rude Oeconomy of former Times,
'inſtead of *white Friars*, *black Friars*, and *grey*
'*Friars*, now have our Clergy an uniform de-
'cent Garb, wear a new Face, grow refin'd,
'and act a more polite Part in Converſation.

'AND now for their greater Dignity,
'Luſtre and Authority, *New Churches*, *Cathe-*
'*dral Churches* are appointed all over the
'Realm; and we have ſo many *Biſhop Suffragans*,
'together with their *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, *Pre-*
'*bendaries*, and their other Subalterns.

'NOW it is that we have a *Biſhop* of *Oxford*,
'a *Biſhop* of *Briſtol*, *Biſhops* of *Peterborough*,
'*Taunton*, *Colcheſter*, *Ipſwich*, *Glouceſter*, *Shafts-*
'*bury*, *Hull*, *Bedford*, *Penryth*, *Thetford*, *Cheſter*;
'*Suffragan Biſhops* up from *Berwick* upon *Tweed*,
'to the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*.

'FURTHERMORE, if a *deſerving Perſon* came
'in the way, when no *Cathedral vacant*, there
'wanted not for him *Pluralities* and *Incompati-*
'*bilities* that amount to an *Equivalent*.

'NOR was the *Building of Churches* his only
'Glory. He had his ſhare in the *Secular Oc-*
'*currences* of his Time; he held the *Ballance of*
'*Power* in his Hand, and the *Scale* turn'd ac-
'cording to his *Direction*. He was declared
'*Protector of Leagues*, and no *Confederacy* was
'firm without him.. His Contemporaries,
'*Francis the French King*, and *Charles* V. two
'ambitious, unquiet, enterpriſing Princes, in
'their turns never fail'd to cut out Work for
'him: one while they court him for their
'Ally, or make him Umpire, and ſubmit their
'Quarrel to his Arbitration.

'TO which ſoever Party he joins, Succeſs
'and Victory go along with them: if he ſides
'with the *French*, the *Imperial Armies* are de-
'feated;

H. VIII. 'feated; when he ſides with the *Emperor*, 'King *Francis* in the Field of Battle is made 'Priſoner. In other Expeditions, ſome good '*French* Towns and Territories remain to the '*Engliſh*.

'THUS proceeded the Reign of King *Henry* 'VIII. as appears in the Courſe of this Vo- 'lume, which ends with the moſt joyful Proſ- 'pect of uniting your two Kingdoms, *England* 'and *Scotland*, by the means of a Marriage for 'the King's only Son *Prince Edward*, with the 'young *Queen of Scotland*. This Marriage was 'negotiated, concerted and concluded; but 'this *Union* was a Bleſſing reſerv'd for your 'Majeſty, *&c.*' Thus far Mr. *Rymer*.

MR. *Rapin*, who has divided his Account of the Acts of this Reign into ſeveral Stages, takes no more than four Years and a half into this, as well becauſe of the abundance of Matter, and the Importance of the Events which happen'd during that time, as becauſe if he went further, he ſhou'd be oblig'd to enter into the Affair of *Henry* VIIIth's Divorce, and leave it imperfect, or elſe run it out to an extraordinary length. In theſe four Years, which are fruitful of great Events, the only Article, ſays he, to be conſider'd, properly ſpeaking, is Foreign Affairs, I mean the Quarrel againſt *Charles* V. and *Francis* I. into which *Henry* VIII. cou'd not avoid entring. The Affairs of *England* with *Scotland*, tho of no great importance, will indeed make a ſeparate Article for the ſake of preſerving the Thread of the Hiſtory: But as to Domeſtick Affairs, we find nothing remarkable enough in the Acts of theſe four Years and half to deſerve a particular Article, nor

nor indeed have they much Connection with one another. *A.* 1514.

1. *Foreign Affairs.*

THO Cardinal *Wolſey* had no reaſon to like the Emperor upon account of the Pontificate, of which that Prince had given him great Hopes, but procur'd for another; he did not think fit to be reveng'd of him, nor ſo much as to ſhew his Reſentment for it. On the contrary, he thought it his Intereſt to adhere the cloſer to him, becauſe he had learnt by Experience how powerful his Party was in the Conclave. The great Age and Infirmities of Pope *Adrian* VI. gave him hopes that the Papal See wou'd quickly be vacant. Therefore it was for his advantage not only to have ſuch a Friend as the Emperor, but alſo to ſtrengthen his Hands; ſo that when the See became vacant, he might have it in his Power to give Law to the Cardinals. Theſe were probably the Motives which determin'd *Wolſey* to favour the Emperor's Deſigns, and to inſpire the King his Maſter with a Reſolution to ruin *France*. The Pretext was the great Danger that *Francis* I. wou'd become too powerful, if he ſhou'd accompliſh his Deſigns in *Italy*; as if *Europe* wou'd have been in leſs Danger from the too great Power of the Emperor. 'Tis certain that this Miniſter did whatever he pleas'd with the King his Maſter; and that of this, not only the *Engliſh*, but all the Princes of *Europe* were thorowly convinc'd, as we have ſeen from a Bull of *Leo* X. and a Letter from the Doge of *Venice* already mention'd.

THE

H. VIII. The aim of the Emperor, and of *Henry*, was to ruin *France* by the means of the Conſtable *de Bourbon*, who made them hope for Wonders from the Correſpondence, and the great Credit which he had in the Kingdom. The Conjuncture was as favourable as they cou'd wiſh. *Francis* I. big with a Deſign to recover the Duchy of *Milan*, was preparing to paſs into *Italy* with a numerous Army conſiſting of his beſt Troops. This made it eaſy for his Enemies to attack his Kingdom in his abſence, and they reſolv'd to do it in three places at once. The Conſtable was to act in *Burgundy*, aſſiſted by all his Friends, and by all the Malecontents in the Kingdom, beſides ſeven or eight thouſand Men that the Emperor ſent in ſmall Bodies to the *Franche Compte*, which were to be under the Command of the Count *de Furſtemberg*. *Henry* was to ſend an Army into *Picardy* to join that which the Emperor had promis'd to have on foot in thoſe Parts, under the Command of the Count *de Bure*: and at the ſame time *Charles* was to cauſe *Bayonne* and *Fontarabia* to be attack'd. But for fear that their too early Preparations wou'd give Umbrage to *Francis* I. and oblige him to ſtay in his Kingdom, and defer his Expedition to *Italy*, they agreed not to begin to act all three together, till the Month of *September*, the very time, when the Pope and the *Venetians*, who were juſt enter'd into the League, wou'd in all probability have given him the moſt Diſturbance.

Duke of Bourbon's *Revolt.*

Deſigns of the Emperor and Henry *againſt* Fra.

The Conſtable's Conſpiracy was diſcover'd, and the Duke himſelf oblig'd to loſe no time in his Eſcape; and conſequently the great Projects of the Allies vaniſh'd into Smoke, or at leaſt fell far ſhort of the Succeſs they expected. Nevertheleſs, the *Spaniards* made themſelves

Their Miſcarriage, and the D. of Bourbon's *Flight.*

Masters of *Fontarabia*, thro' the Cowardice of the Governour. But the Count *de Furſtemberg*, who had made an Incurſion into *Champagne*, was drove out again by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who purſued him even as far as *Lorrain*, where he overtook and defeated him. The Count *de Bure* and the Duke of *Suffolk* enter'd *Picardy* very late, and were forc'd to retreat before they had made any conſiderable Progreſs, by the Dukes *de Vendome* and *de la Tremouille*, who commanded in that Country. *A.* 1224.

Fontarabia taken by the Spaniards.

Count de Furſtemberg defeated by the D. of Guiſe.

The D. of Suffolk forc'd to retreat from Picardy.

THIS Year's Campaign in *Italy* wou'd have been very fatal to the Emperor, if the Admiral *de Bonnivet*, to whom *Francis* had given the Command of his Army, had improv'd his Advantages, or if he had had to do with a General of leſs Experience than *Proſper Colonna*, who broke all his Meaſures. This *Proſper* dying not long after, the Emperor ſent the Duke *de Bourbon* into *Italy* to command his Troops there.

The Campaign in Italy.

POPE *Adrian* VI. dy'd in *September*, without having been let into the Deſigns of the Emperor and *Henry*, who had only made him believe, by his Miniſter who was in their Intereſt, that his entring into the League was an infallible means to oblige the King of *France* to conſent to the Truce of three Years, which he had ſtifly refus'd. *Adrian*'s Succeſſor was the ſame Cardinal *de Medicis*, who was ſupported by the Imperial Faction, and aſſum'd the Name of *Clement* VII. which was matter of great Mortification to Cardinal *Wolſey*, who having flatter'd himſelf that the Emperor wou'd uſe all his Intereſt to make him Pope, now ſaw that this pretended Friend had no ſuch thing in View. But he conceal'd his Reſent-

Pope Adrian's Death.

His Succeſſor Clement VII.

H. VIII. ment, that he might the more ſurely work his Revenge.

THE Death of *Adrian* VI. and the Election of *Clement* VII. put the Imperialiſts in *Italy* into a ſtrange Confuſion. In 1524, very ſoon after the Pope's Death, the Troops of the Church quitted the Army of the Allies, and *Clement* VII. was no ſooner elected than he recall'd thoſe of *Florence*, and declar'd openly that he wou'd be Neuter, tho it was he who had engag'd his Predeceſſor to join with the Allies againſt *France*. By this means the Imperial Army was not only weaken'd in number of Troops, but principally by the want of Money, which was no longer furniſh'd by *Rome* and *Florence*. But tho in publick the Pope made a mighty Noiſe of his Neutrality, yet in ſecret he ſupply'd the Duke of *Bourbon* with 20000 Ducats, and conſented that the *Florentines* ſhou'd give him a Remittance of 50000.

Pope abandons his Allies.

But ſecretly ſupplys the D. of Bourbon.

WITH theſe Succours, and a Reinforcement of 10000 *Landſquenets* (or *German* Foot Soldiers) which arriv'd very *a propos* at *Milan*, the Duke of *Bourbon* took the Field, and joining the *Venetians*, commanded by the Duke of *Urbino*, he drew near to the *French* Army, which was very much weaken'd, *Francis* I. having paid them no Money ever ſince their entrance into *Italy*. In this ſad plight, *Bonnivet* reſolv'd to go and give Battle to the Allies, but the two Generals did not think fit to run any hazard. They knew what a condition the Admiral was in, and did not doubt but he wou'd ſoon be forc'd to abandon the *Milaneſe*, which happen'd accordingly, for *Bonnivet* not being able to fight, nor to ſubſiſt his Army after the Allies came ſo near him, reſolv'd at laſt to make the beſt Retreat he cou'd, and to repaſs the Mountains.

The Fren. *abandon* Italy.

THE

THE *French* had no ſooner left *Italy*, than the Emperor and *Henry* form'd new Projects. After having happily defended the Duchy of *Milan*, the Emperor reſolv'd to cauſe *Provence* to be invaded by the Duke of *Bourbon*, with an Army, for the maintenance whereof *Henry* promis'd to pay 100000 Crowns *per* Month, but reſerv'd to himſelf the Liberty of paying only the firſt Month, if he found it more convenient to make a powerful Diverſion in *Picardy*, by acting there in his own Perſon. *A.* 1524. *Deſigns of the Emperor and* Henry *againſt* Fra.

ACCORDING to this Project, the Duke of *Bourbon* march'd towards *Provence*, but was not near ſo ſtrong as he expected. The *Venetians* who only engag'd in the League for Defence of the Duchy of *Milan*, wou'd not be concern'd in the Expedition; and the Emperor was oblig'd to leave part of his Troops in *Italy*, under Command of *Lanoy* Viceroy of *Naples*, for the Guard of that Country. So that the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Army did not exceed 16000 Men. *Duke of* Bourbon *marches into* Provence,

AT the firſt News of the March of the Imperialiſts, *Francis* I. iſſued ſuch good Orders, that the City of *Marſeilles* was immediately furniſh'd with a good Gariſon, and every thing neceſſary for a long and vigorous Defence. Mean time he aſſembled an Army of 40000 Men at *Avignon*, who were in a condition to act before the Duke of *Bourbon*, then taken up with the Siege of *Marſeilles*, had made any conſiderable Progreſs. This was the reaſon that the Duke fearing to be attack'd, reſolv'd to return to *Italy*. He rais'd the Siege therefore with ſome Precipitation, and march'd back towards *Milan*. *Francis* finding himſelf at the Head of an Army very ſuperior to his Enemy, reſolv'd to improve the advantage, in order to recover the Duchy of *Milan*. As the *Lays Siege to* Marſeilles; *But is forc'd to raiſe it and return to* Italy.

H. VIII. Duke of *Bourbon* went the ſartheſt way about, the King did not think of purſuing him, but march'd a nearer Road to *Milan*, in hopes of being there before him. The two Armies marching thither with extraordinary Diligence, arriv'd in the *Milaneſe* much about the ſame time, tho by different ways. The Duke of *Bourbon* went to join *Lanoy* at *Pavia*, and *Francis* having made himſelf Maſter of the Town of *Milan*, left *Trivulce* there with a Body of Troops to beſiege the Caſtle, and then march'd in purſuit of his Enemy, who retir'd as he advanc'd, and gave him the opportunity of beſieging *Pavia*. He ſat down before it on the 28th of *October*.

He arrives in the Milaneſe *one way, and the K. of* France *another.*

The Imperialiſts abandon the Milaneſe *to the* French *who beſiege* Pavia.

WHILE the Imperial Army was in *Provence*, Cardinal *Wolſey* having a Pique againſt the Emperor, put Maxims into the Head of the King his Maſter, which were quite the reverſe to thoſe that he had purſued hitherto, and inclin'd him to break with the Emperor. So that *Henry* being directed by his Miniſter, not only paid but one Month of the Subſidy which he had promis'd, and made no Diverſion in *Picardy*, but even demanded of the Emperor the Payment of thoſe Sums which he had lent him when he was in *England*. All this gave the Emperor ſuſpicions which were but too well founded, becauſe *Wolſey* was diſguſted. We ſhall preſently ſee what were the Effects of his Diſguſt, but we muſt firſt relate what paſs'd in *Italy*.

Henry *begins to fall out with the Emperor.*

THE arrival of *Francis* I. in the *Milaneſe*, with a formidable Army, put the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Viceroy of *Naples* into very great Confuſion. They were abandon'd by the Pope, the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*; their Army was far inferior to his, and they had

had no Money to pay it. In this Extremity their only Hopes was in the length of the Siege of *Pavia*, which was like to laſt long enough to give time to take other Meaſures. This Siege was undertaken in the beginning of the Winter, and they had great Expectations from the Valour and Experience of *Anthony de Leve* who commanded in the place. They reſolv'd therefore to improve this opportunity by ſending for Troops from *Germany*, and the Duke of *Bourbon* went himſelf into that Country to haſten the Levies as much as poſſible. *A.* 1524.

CLEMENT VII. was every whit as much embarraſs'd as the Emperor's Generals. *Francis* I. was not ignorant how this Pontiff ſtood affected, while he was Cardinal and Prime Miniſter to *Adrian* VI. and there was not very great Appearance that his Sentiments or Inclination were alter'd ſince he was become Pope. The Step he took in procuring Money for the Duke of *Bourbon*, was a plain Token which way he was inclin'd. Conſequently the King of *France*'s Arrival in the *Milaneſe*, and the proſpect there was that he wou'd make himſelf Maſter of the whole Duchy, having given the Pope a juſt Apprehenſion of ſeeing himſelf expos'd to the Reſentment of that Monarch, he thought it his beſt Courſe to prevent it, by falling in with his Intereſt. Therefore, after he had, for Form ſake, ſent a Nuncio to the two Armies to exhort them to Peace, he made a Treaty with *Francis*, by which he engag'd not to diſturb him either in the Conqueſt, or in the Poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*. Beſides this Treaty which was made publick, and at which the Emperor was very much incens'd, he concluded another ſecret Treaty to make the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples* the more eaſy

Pope's Treaty with the K. of Fra.

H. VIII. for *Francis* I. by giving paſſage for the Army of *France*, which was deſign'd for that Expedition, thro' the Territories of *Florence* and the Church. This Treaty being ſign'd, *Francis* ſent a Detachment from his Army under Command of the Duke of *Albany* to attack the Kingdom of *Naples*. But he order'd the Duke to halt in *Tuſcany* for 2000 Men, which were to be brought from *Provence*, by *Renzo de Ceri*, who had defended *Marſeilles*.

D. of Albany *ſent with Forces to attack* Naples.

Savona *taken.*

SOME time after, *Renzo de Ceri* coming from *Marſeilles* to join the Duke of *Albany*, found means in his Paſſage to make himſelf Maſter of *Savona*; which was the reaſon that *Francis* ſent another Detatchment under the Marquis *de Saluces*, to poſt himſelf at *Savona*, with a view to facilitate the Conqueſt of *Genoa*. The three Detachments which the King had made, the one for the Caſtle of *Milan*, another for *Naples*, and the third for *Savona*, the Severity of the Seaſon, and the Inconveniencies of the Siege ſo weaken'd the Army of *France*, that the Imperialiſts began to have better hopes of their Affairs, which Hopes were augmented by the Arrival of the Duke of *Bourbon*, who in the beginning of the Year 1525. brought them a Reinforcement of 10000 Men. The Battle of *Pavia* is ſo well known, that 'tis needleſs to enter into the Particulars of it, farther than juſt to take notice that the Imperialiſts attack'd the Army of *France*, that this Army was routed, and that the King himſelf was taken Priſoner.

Battle of Pavia *in which the* K. *of* Fra. *is taken Priſoner.*

THIS unexpected Event chang'd the Face of Affairs in a moment, eſpecially in *Italy*, which was never in ſo great danger of falling under the Dominion of the Emperor. The *Venetians*, who foreſaw what wou'd be the Conſequences of the Victory of *Charles*, and of the

the King of *France*'s being his Priſoner, propos'd immediately to make a League with the Pope, *France* and *England* againſt the Emperor. But *Clement* VII. had ſo lately put a groſs Affront upon the Emperor, that he was afraid to take this Step, and choſe rather to treat for his own part with the Viceroy of *Naples*, who acted in the Emperor's Name. In order to hinder the Pope from entring into the League propos'd to him, the Viceroy made no difficulty to engage the Emperor to reſtore the Duchy of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*, tho he was very ſenſible that his Maſter had no ſuch Intention. But this was the only way to defeat the Project of the League, becauſe the Reſtoration of *Sforza* to *Milan* was the Baſis of the Liberty of *Italy*, which cou'd not be ſecured as long as the Emperor remain'd in poſſeſſion of that Duchy. By this Treaty, which cou'd have no Effect till the Emperor had ratify'd it, the Viceroy baffled the Meaſures which the *Venetians* were going to take, and made *Venice*, *France* and *England* all ſo jealous of the Pope, that there was no room to imagine that theſe Powers wou'd truſt him long. This was the reaſon that the Emperor's Generals, who wanted Money to pay their Troops, made no ſcruple to disband great part of them, the rather becauſe *Trivulce*, who had beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Milan*, was already return'd over the Mountains, and that the Duke of *Albany* was alſo march'd back into *France* by another Road.

A. 1525.

Venetians propoſal of a League againſt the Emperor.

Pope treats with him.

Emperor's Generals disband their Forces.

As the Hiſtory of that time is very well known, I ſhall only give the Subſtance of what is moſt neceſſary for underſtanding the Acts in this XIVth Volume of the *Fœdera*.

H. VIII.

Emperor's Offers to the K of France *for his Liberty which he rejects.*

THE Emperor offer'd his Priſoner to ſet him at Liberty, on certain Conditions of which the principal Articles were, that he ſhou'd reſtore the Duchy of *Burgundy* to him, which *Lewis* XI. had taken from *Mary* his Grandmother; that he ſhou'd reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon* to all his Dominions, and give him *Provence* and *Dauphiny*; and that of all theſe together, a Kingdom ſhou'd be form'd for the Duke, independent on the Crown of *France*. We ſhall not inquire here whether the Empeperor had a right to demand *Burgundy*, and whether this Duchy lawfully belong'd to the King of *France*. But as to the ſecond Condition, it was certainly unjuſt and intolerable, and probably it was only added to quaſh the firſt.

King of France's *Counter-Offers to the Emperor which he alſo rejects.*

HOWEVER that be, *Francis* was very far from accepting thoſe Offers, and made other Propoſals in his Turn, *viz.* To marry *Eleanor* the Queen Dowager of *Portugal*, Siſter to the Emperor: To hold the Duchy of *Burgundy* in the nature of her Portion, and to render it Hereditary to the Children that ſhou'd be born of that Marriage: To reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon* to his Dominions, and to give him his Siſter the Ducheſs of *Alenſon* in Marriage: To give the ſame ſum for his Ranſom, that King *John* did when he was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*; and laſtly to pay the King of *England* all that was due to him from the Emperor.

IF *Charles* had been inclin'd to a Peace, one wou'd have thought theſe Conditions good enough to have ſatisfy'd him, but being reſolv'd to have *Burgundy*, that was the Article which cou'd not be got over. After this, *Francis* I. was

was carry'd into *Spain*, where the Negotiations of Peace were continu'd for ſome time, tho to no purpoſe. *A.* 1525. Francis I. *carry'd to* Spain.

MEAN while, the Pope, who by his Treaty with *Lanoy*, thought he had taken ſufficient Care of his own Affairs, and of the Security of *Italy*, was quite out in his Reckoning. The Emperor pretending to approve of this Treaty, ſent a Ratification of it, wherein he made no mention of three ſeparate Articles which related to the private Intereſts of the Pope. On the other hand, when he ſent the Inveſtiture of the Duchy of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*, he tack'd a Condition to it which render'd it of no Effect, namely, that before he renew'd the Inveſtiture, *Sforza* ſhou'd pay him 1200000 Ducats: A Sum which 'twas impoſſible for him to raiſe. The Pope having rejected this imperfect Ratification, continued in the ſame Terms with the Emperor as he was before he had treated with him. But the Emperor gain'd a conſiderable Point, becauſe he had hinder'd that League. The *Venetians* being thorowly ſenſible that the Emperor's Deſign was to keep *Milan*, or to grant the Inveſtiture of it to the Archduke *Ferdinand* his Brother, laid hold on that Opportunity to renew their Inſtances with the Pope, with reſpect to the League which they had propos'd at firſt. *Clement* VII. with that Craft which was ſo natural to him, pretended to hearken to them, but at the ſame time that he was negotiating at *Rome* with the *Venetians*, he under another pretence, ſent a Legate into *Spain* to renew his Treaty with the Emperor.

The Emperor's artful dealing with the Pope, to whom he ſends an imperfect Ratification of the Treaty of Rome.

Pope rejects it.

The Venetians *aim at forming a League againſt the Emperor.*

Pope treats with both at once.

MEAN time the Emperor perceiving that the Powers of *Italy* were obſtinately bent on demanding the Reſtoration of *Sforza*, thought

The Emperor lays a Snare for Sforza *to ſtrip him of the* Mi-

laneſe.

H. VIII. of an Expedient, which was to contrive a plauſible Pretext to refuſe it. The Duke of *Bourbon* being gone to *Madrid*, the Marquis *de Peſcaire* who commanded in the *Milaneſe*, pretended to be very much diſguſted with the Emperor, and to ſeek means to be reveng'd on him. He acted his Part ſo well, that he engag'd *Sforza*, the Queen Regent of *France*, the Pope and the *Venetians* in a Conſpiracy, the aim of which was to make himſelf King of *Naples*, and to eſtabliſh *Sforza* at *Milan*, after having cut the Throats of all the *Spaniards* in that Duchy. When the Emperor had got proofs enough in his Hand to ſhew that *Sforza* was enter'd into the Conſpiracy, he ſent an Order to *Peſcaire* to turn him out of every Foot of Land in the *Milaneſe*; which Order was ſo punctually executed, that *Sforza* had nothing left but the Caſtle of *Milan*, where he was actually beſieg'd. After that time, whenever the Emperor was preſs'd to the Reſtoration of *Sforza*, he made anſwer, that he wou'd reſtore him when he had once purg'd himſelf of the felonious Crime laid to his Charge.

The Emperor's Artifice doubled the Diligence of the *Venetians*. They told the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in plain Terms, that they would run all hazards rather than ſuffer his Maſter to remain in poſſeſſion of *Milan*. *Clement* VII. did not act with the ſame Reſolution; he amus'd *France* and the Senate of *Venice*, in hopes that they wou'd conſent to the League propos'd; but this was only till News came of the Concluſion of the Treaty which he had been negotiating in *Spain*. At laſt, his Legate having ſent him word that the Treaty was ſign'd, without acquainting him with any of the Particulars, he broke off his Negotiations with *Venice*.

But when the Treaty came to *Rome*, it was full of ſuch ambiguities, that the Pope abſolutely refus'd to ratify it. Hereupon the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador whoſe ſole Aim was to hinder him from joining with the *Venetians*, play'd him a Trick which he did not expect. He pretended to be very much ſurpriz'd himſelf to find ſo many double Entendres in the Treaty, and laying the Blame of it upon the Secretary who drew it up, he told the Pope that he had beſt get it drawn up himſelf in what Terms he thought proper, and that he wou'd engage to put it into his Hand in two Months time, ratify'd by the Emperor. The Pope was catch'd in the Snare, and during thoſe two Months he durſt not renew his Negotiations with *France* and *Venice*, which was the very thing that the Emperor wanted, in order to break off the Negotiation, or at leaſt to put off the Concluſion of the League as long as poſſible. *A.* 1525.

The Pope trick'd by the Ambaſſador of Spain.

WE muſt now ſee what part *Henry* VIII. acted in all theſe Affairs.

WHEN *Francis* I. was taken Priſoner at *Pavia*, *Henry* was at War with him, and in Alliance with the Emperor; but as I have already ſaid, he began to be diſguſted with his Ally, not ſo much upon his own Account as his Miniſter's. After the Diſaſter that had happen'd to *France*, he was not a little confounded which of the two Parties to join with. There was an abſolute Neceſſity of his coming to a Determination either to continue his League with the Emperor, to make powerful Efforts for pulling down the Power of *France*, which was already conſiderably ſhaken, and to appropriate great part of that Kingdom to himſelf; or elſe to ſupport that tottering Kingdom, and thereby to maintain the Balance of *Europe*. There were

H. VIII. were not wanting plauſible Reaſons for both theſe Alternatives, but at laſt he determin'd to chuſe that which was moſt juſt and honourable, and if I may venture to give my Opinion, that which was moſt for the advantage of *England*. 'Tis not to be queſtion'd but *Wolſey* preſs'd him to it, in order to be reveng'd of the Emperor. One ſhou'd be apt to aſcribe it to his Zeal for the Welfare of his Maſter and the Nation, if his Conduct during all the time of his Miniſtry, did not make it ſhrewdly ſuſpected whether he ever acted from ſuch a Motive.

Henry *determines to break with the Emperor.*

HENRY having taken a Reſolution to break with the Emperor, ſent the Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Robert Wingfield* to him to make certain Demands of him, which he well knew that Prince wou'd not grant. Among other things he pretended by virtue of an Article in the *Windſor* Treaty, which he explain'd after his own manner, that the Emperor was oblig'd to put the Captive King into his Hands. The Emperor returning only a general Anſwer to all the demands, *Henry* took occaſion from thence to treat openly with *France*, and acquainted the Regent who was Mother to the Captive King, that if ſhe wou'd pleaſe to ſend her Ambaſſadors to him, they ſhou'd be welcome. It muſt be obſerved that at the time when *Francis* I. was marching for *Italy*, the Regent ſent a Man into *England*, who had long Conferences with Cardinal *Wolſey*, and 'tis not improbable that *Henry* enter'd into ſome Engagement with *France* at that very time. Whether it was ſo or not, the Regent ſent two Ambaſſadors to *England*, of whom one was the ſame Perſon that had confer'd with the Cardinal formerly.

Treats with Fra.

THE

THE Ambaſſadors in an occaſion ſo extraordinary as this was, having no Pains to take to bring over *Henry* to the Intereſts of *France*, left him as one may ſay Charte blanche, and ſign'd ſeveral Treaties at the King's Palace at *Moore*, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, in which it muſt be own'd that *Henry* treated the *French* with uncommon Generoſity. Tho he might have demanded Places, and as one may ſay Provinces, as a Præmium for his Alliance, yet he was content with a new Treaty for ſecuring the Sums due to him by the foregoing Treaties, as one may be eaſily convinc'd by comparing them together. As ſoon as *Charles* V. was inform'd of the Treaty of *Moore*, he recall'd his Ambaſſador from *London*, and *Henry* ſent the like Meſſage to his Miniſters at *Madrid*.

A. 1526.

Treaty of Moore.

Henry's *Generoſity to* France.

Charles *and* Henry *recal their Ambaſſadors.*

TILL the Year 1526, the Emperor had gain'd conſiderably by his Negotiations with *France*, and the *Italian* Powers, becauſe it lay in his Power to divide his Enemies whenever he thought fit. By yielding *Burgundy* to *France*, he was in a manner ſure that *Francis* I. wou'd abandon *Italy* to him; and by his eſtabliſhing *Sforza* at *Milan*, he cou'd not doubt but the Pope and the *Venetians* wou'd be eaſy, and abandon *France* to his Arms. But the Treaty of *Moore* made a great alteration in his Affairs.

THE King of *France* who was ſoon inform'd of it, kept much more upon the Reſerve than he had been hitherto, and the Pope being diſguſted with the Emperor, becauſe in a ſecond Ratification of the Treaty concluded in *Spain*, he had left the Reſtoration of *Sforza* uncertain, ſent him word in plain Terms, that without that Article it was in vain to hope for Peace. The Emperor therefore had reaſon to fear, that all thoſe Powers wou'd at length reunite againſt

Pope will not hear of any Terms of Peace without the Reſtoration of Sforza.

H. VIII. againſt him, after he had ſo long trifled with them; and this made him reſolve at laſt to conclude a Treaty either with the Pope or with *France*. While he was pauſing which to chuſe, *Francis* I. weary of his long Impriſonment, determin'd at laſt to reſtore *Burgundy* to him, or at leaſt to pretend that the preſent State of his Affairs forc'd him to ſuch a mortifying Reſignation. This produc'd a Treaty which was ſign'd at *Madrid* the 14th of *January* 1526. but, for what Reaſon I know not, is inſerted in this XIVth Tome of the *Fœdera*, among the Acts of the Year 1529. By this Treaty *Francis* I. recover'd his Liberty, leaving his two eldeſt Sons as Hoſtages in the Emperor's Hands, and engaging expreſly to return to his Priſon if he fail'd in the performance of the Treaty.

Francis I. *ſet at Liberty by the Treaty of* Madrid. 308.

'Tis hardly to be doubted that *Francis* when he ſign'd this Treaty, reſolv'd to break it when he was at Liberty. All the ſteps he took from the moment he got looſe, made it very evident, and the Pope and *Venetians* had not the leaſt doubt of it, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Mean time the Emperor having as yet no ſuſpicion upon this Head, had no ſooner ſign'd the Peace with *France*, than he broke off the Negotiations with the Pope, and publickly refus'd *Sforza* the Inveſtiture of *Milan*.

His return to his Kingdom.

What the Pope and *Venetians* imagin'd came to paſs. *Francis* I. was no ſooner return'd home, but he ratify'd the Treaty of *Moore*, and refus'd to ratify that of *Madrid*, alledging to the Viceroy of *Naples*, who had accompany'd him into *France*, ſeveral Excuſes which were the Forerunners of a formal and abſolute refuſal. Not long after this, while he was at *Cognac*, he receiv'd Ambaſſadors from the

the Pope and the *Venetians*, who came to propoſe a League to him againſt the Emperor. He made no ſcruple to ſign this League on the 17th of *May*, but he was not willing it ſhou'd be publiſh'd before he had receiv'd an Anſwer from the Emperor, to whom he had made certain Offers, and particularly a Sum of two Millions of Gold, as an Equivalent for the Duchy of *Burgundy*. The Emperor having rejected theſe Offers, the League was publiſh'd at *Cognac* on the 18th of *June*. *A.* 1526.

He ſigns a League againſt the Emperor at Cognac.

His offer to the Emperor of an Equivalent for Burgundy.

THE Conduct of *Francis* I. broke all the Meaſures of the Emperor, who by making a Peace with *France*, had hopes of becoming Maſter of all *Italy*. Inſtead of that, he had let go his Priſoner, and was to ſtand the ſhock of the League that was form'd againſt him. Yet for all this, his Condition was not ſo bad as it ſeem'd to be. *Francis* I. had no real Deſign to force him to reſtore his Children to him by Arms; his only View was to intimidate him, and to make him believe that *France*, *England*, the Pope, and the *Venetians*, were going to join their ſtrongeſt Efforts to oblige him to make an equitable Peace. But when the Emperor was inclin'd to hearken to Reaſon, *Francis* was always for dropping his Allies. This was the reaſon that for a very long time, he was exceeding cautious, leſt he ſhou'd exaſperate this formidable Enemy ſtill more by Efforts too vigorous, whereas his Intention was always to conclude the Affair in queſtion by a Treaty. Probably he had imparted his Deſign to the King of *England*, becauſe *Henry's* Conduct was ſtill the ſame. Theſe two Monarchs always threaten'd the Emperor, and they concluded ſeveral Treaties together, to make him believe that they were juſt going to unite all their Forces

His aim to frighten the Emperor.

H. VIII. Forces to attack him. But among these first Treaties there is not so much as one for a League offensive.

The Pope and Venetians *bubbled by the Kings of* England *and* Fra.

The Pope and the *Venetians* were the Dupes of these two Princes. Being deceiv'd with their fair Speeches, which made them hope for great matters from the Union of their Forces, they were the first that took Arms, in hopes of saving the Castle of *Milan*, then reduc'd to the last Extremity; but they cou'd not succeed, for which *Guicciardin* blames the Duke of *Urbino*, who commanded the joint Army of the two Allies; and who, says he, betray'd the common Cause, for fear that if the Pope shou'd effect his purpose, of driving the Emperor out of all *Italy*, he wou'd also take away his Duchy of *Urbino*, of which he recover'd Possession, after the Death of *Leo* X. As soon as the Pope and the *Venetians* were thus embark'd in War, the two Kings let them alone to act in the *Milanese*, without caring how things went there, just to amuse them, and frighten the Emperor. *Francis* did not send the Emperor the Money he promis'd to pay the Army, and only kept a Body of *Italians* on foot there, under Command of the Marquis *de Saluces*.

The D. Urbino's *Treachery.*

The Duke of *Bourbon* being return'd in the mean time to *Milan*, found the Imperial Army there very much weaken'd, and in great want of Money, so that he was oblig'd to raise Contributions on the Inhabitants, in order to save them from the Plunder with which the Army threaten'd them. *Guicciardin* says, that if the Duke of *Urbino* had improv'd his Advantages, he was so superior to the Duke of *Bourbon*, that he might have drove him out of *Milan*, but he contented himself with keeping the City block'd

block'd up. For this very Reaſon, the Emperor, in order to recover the Superiority in *Italy*, caus'd 14000 Men to be rais'd in *Germany*, which the Baron *de Frondſperg* was to command, and carry to the relief of the Duke of *Bourbon*. *A.* 1514. *Emperor raiſes Succours for the D. of* Bourbon.

DURING this, *Hugh de Moncade*, who commanded in *Naples* in the Viceroy's Abſence, and the Duke of *Seſſo* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, did the Emperor very important Service, by ſtirring up the *Colonnas*, who were the Pope's Enemies, to enter the Territories of the Church with an armed Force. *Clement* VII. reſenting this, order'd the Duke of *Urbino*, with the Conſent of the *Venetians*, to bring the Confederate Army from the *Milaneſe* to *Rome*, in order to make an Incurſion into the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the Emperor's two Miniſters found means to ward off this Blow, by obliging the *Colonnas* to give the Pope all the Satisfaction that he cou'd deſire; and the Duke of *Urbino* was countermanded. *The* Colonnas *make War upon the Pope.* *Their ſubmiſſion.*

THIS Accommodation was only made to amuſe the Pope. For about a Month after, the *Colonnas* enter'd *Rome* at the Head of 5 or 6000 Men, without any body's having Intelligence of their March, and threaten'd to plunder the City. The Pope had but juſt time to retire to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where he had neither Proviſion nor Ammunition to ſuſtain a Siege, nor Forces to hinder *Rome* from being plunder'd. He had no way to get off, but by making a particular Truce with the Emperor for four Months, by which he was oblig'd to recal the Troops, which he had in the *Milaneſe*; where the Duke of *Urbino* remain'd alone with the *Venetian* Army, but ſtill kept that Capital block'd up, ſo weak was the Duke of *Bourbon!* *They enter* Rome *on a ſudden, and oblige the Pope to retire to* St. Angelo *Caſtle.* *The Pope's Truce with the Emperor.*

H. VIII. The Pope's Troops were no ſooner arriv'd at *Rome*, but he broke the Agreement he had made with the *Colonnas*; and the War betwixt the Pope and the Emperor broke out again upon the Frontiers of *Naples*, and the Land of the Church, with various Succeſs, of which 'tis needleſs to mention the Particulars.

He breaks his Agreement with the Colonnas, *And renews the War with the Emperor.*

Mean time the Pope cou'd not tell what to think of the Conduct of the King of *France*, who, tho the moſt intereſted in this War, made not one conſiderable Effort to maintain it. And *Henry* was altogether as inactive on his part. So that the Pope, who had always believ'd that the Treaty of *Moore* contain'd a League Offenſive and Defenſive between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and who, like his Predeceſſors, had 'hopes of making them his Tools, was oblig'd to be the Tool of another, and to ſupport a War alone, which run him into ſuch an Expence, that his Revenues were hardly ſufficient to defray it. Perhaps this is the firſt and only Inſtance that a Pope was ever ſo impos'd on. *Clement* VII. often try'd to perſuade *Henry* to enter into the League, by flattering him that he ſhou'd have the Title of *Head*, and *Protector of the Sacred League*, with a conſiderable Penſion to be paid out of the Duchy of *Milan*, when conquer'd: but *Henry* was deaf to all his Offers. His own Experience had taught him what it was to make Alliances with Popes; and he very well knew that as ſoon as the Emperor was reſolv'd to let go the Duchy of *Milan*, neither the Pope nor the *Venetians* wou'd be much concern'd for the Intereſt of *England*.

His endeavours to bring Henry *into the League of* Cognac.

But the Confuſion which the Pope was in, tho very great, was nothing to what happen'd to him afterwards. The Baron *de Frondſperg* arriving

arriving in *Italy* in 1527, with 14000 Men, and marching towards the *Milaneſe*, the Duke of *Urbino* rais'd the Blockade of *Milan*, under pretence of going to ſtop the march of the *Germans*, which however he was unable, or elſe unwilling to do. The Duke of *Bourbon* being then at Liberty, and not knowing how to ſubſiſt his Army longer at *Milan*, upon whoſe Inhabitants he had often rais'd Contributions, reſolv'd to go and join *Frondſperg*, and to carry the War into the Pope's Country. He executed his Deſign in the beginning of the Year 1527, and ſtopp'd ſome time in the *Plaiſantin* to raiſe Contributions, of which he was in extreme want. Afterwards, he march'd towards the *Bologneſe*, where he halted again to raiſe Money. *Guicciardin* ſays, that the Duke of *Urbino* only follow'd the Imperial Army at a diſtance, and was glad to ſee them take that Road, while for his own part he contented himſelf with covering the State of *Venice*.

A. 1527.

D. of Urbino *raiſes the Blockade of* Milan.

Duke of Bourbon *goes out and joins* Frondſperg.

AT the firſt News of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s march, the Pope rais'd ſome Troops; but ſoon after, he choſe rather to treat with the Viceroy of *Naples*, and to conclude a Truce of 8 Months with him, on condition of paying 60000 Ducats to the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Army. This Truce being ſign'd, he disbanded his Troops to ſave Charges, and only kept 2000 Men on foot. But the Duke of *Bourbon* refus'd to agree to this Truce, on pretence that the Sum ſtipulated was not ſufficient to pay the Arrears due to his Troops. Therefore, the Viceroy went to *Florence*, and at laſt agreed with the Duke, that the Pope ſhou'd pay him 80000 Ducats down, and 60000 every Month of *May*. As ſoon as the Pope had receiv'd the News of this ſecond Convention, he disbanded the

Truce between the Pope and the Viceroy of Naples.

Duke of Bourbon *refuſes it.*

Makes another agreement with the Viceroy.

H. VIII. 2000 Men he had ſtill remaining on foot, that he might be the better able to pay the Sums contracted for. But whether the Duke of *Bourbon* conſented to this Agreement only to amuſe the Pope, or whether he cou'd not be ſure of his Troops, he continu'd his March towards *Rome* with extraordinary Diligence, and arriv'd before that City on the 5th of *May*. He immediately ſent to the Pope to deſire Paſſage thro' that City for *Naples*; which being refus'd him, he caus'd a Breach of the Town to be attack'd, in which he was kill'd, but the Breach was forc'd, and the City plunder'd *, while *Clement* VII. with thirteen Cardinals fled in a great fright to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*. The Prince of *Orange* immediately ſucceeded the Duke of *Bourbon* in the Command of the Imperial Army. The Pope defended his Caſtle till the 6th of *June*, when he was forc'd to capitulate, and ſurrender himſelf into the Hands of the Imperialiſts, who put a *Spaniſh* Gariſon into the Caſtle, and kept him Priſoner there, together with his Cardinals, till he had perform'd the Articles of the Capitulation. As ſoon as the News of the Pope's being taken Priſoner was known, the *Venetians* took *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; the Duke of *Ferrara* made himſelf Maſter of *Modena*; *Sigiſmond Malateſta* of *Rimini*; and the *Florentines* recover'd their Liberty after they had expell'd the Pope's Legate.

His Arrival at Rome, *which he attacks and is kill'd.*

Rome *plunder'd.*

Pope flys again to the Caſtle of St. Angelo, *where he is taken Priſoner.*

* So many Hiſtorians have given an Account of the Sacking of *Rome*, that 'twere needleſs to mention the particulars: ſome Writers indeed, as Mr. *Rapin* ſays in his Hiſtory, have been pleas'd to lay all the Blame of it upon the Proteſtants who were among the Troops of *Frondſperg*. But the Majority agree that the *Spaniards* were as unkind to the Holy City as the *Germans*.

Not

Not long before the Conqueſt of *Rome*, *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII. had thought fit to make ſome alteration in their Meaſures. When they ſaw that the Emperor was not ſo eaſily to be frighten'd as they expected, they reſolv'd to ſtrike a bolder ſtroke, and to make an offenſive League together againſt him; but whether it was with a ſincere Deſign to make War upon him, or only to intimidate him, is hard to know. *Francis* I. wiſh'd to recover his Children, and he was very ſenſible that a War carry'd on by Allies, who had ſeparate Intereſts, was not capable of producing that Effect. *Henry* VIII. began at that time, in all appearance, to think of his Divorce with Queen *Catherine*, in which he cou'd not naturally expect any oppoſition, except from the Emperor, who was her Nephew. Therefore it was neceſſary either to weaken him to ſuch a degree that the Pope ſhou'd have no cauſe to fear him, or elſe to perſuade him, for fear of the Union betwixt *France* and *England*, to let the Divorce take place quietly. The offenſive League ſeem'd perfectly calculated for this purpoſe. Be this as it will, on the 30th of *April*, when the Duke of *Bourbon* was advanc'd very near *Rome*, the two Kings concluded three new Treaties. The firſt imported in ſubſtance, That they ſhou'd both ſend Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, to make him Offers relating to the Reſtoration of the two Hoſtages, and to demand of him the Payment of the Sums which he ow'd to *Henry*; and that if he did not return an Anſwer in 20 Days, the two Kings ſhou'd declare War againſt him. Another Article of the firſt Treaty was for a Marriage between *Francis* I. or the Duke of *Orleans*'s ſecond Son, with *Mary*, who was *Henry*'s Daughter.

A. 1527.

Henry's *Treaties with* Fra.

H. VIII.

THE ſecond Treaty, imported, That the two Kings ſhou'd make War againſt the Emperor in the *Netherlands*, with an Army of 35000 Men, and a Fleet on which they were to embark 15000 Men; and that the Pope and *Venetians* ſhou'd be deem'd as included in the League, on condition they wou'd carry on the War againſt the Emperor.

His Renunciation of all right to the Kingdom of France.

BY the third Treaty, *Henry* renounc'd all his Rights and Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *France*; and *Francis* engag'd for himſelf and his Succeſſors for ever, to pay every Year to *Henry* and his Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, a Penſion of 50000 Crowns, payable at two Terms, and above 15000 Crowns in Salt of *Brouage**.

THE News of the taking of *Rome*, and of the Pope's being taken Priſoner, arriving ſoon after the Concluſion of theſe Treaties, the two Kings thought fit to alter an Article of their ſecond Treaty, and to agree to carry on the War againſt the Emperor in *Italy*; but that, by reaſon of the difficulty of ſending *Engliſh* Troops thither, *Henry* ſhou'd furniſh his Quota in Money. They agreed alſo that Cardinal *Wolſey* ſhou'd go and confer with the King of *France* at *Amiens*. Mean time, *Henry* having ſent an Ambaſſador to *Madrid*, in purſuance of the Treaty of *April* 30. the Emperor told him that he wou'd ſend his Anſwer to the King by an Expreſs.

A Clauſe in one of the Treaties alter'd on account of the taking of Rome.

Wolſey ſent over to France *to confer with the King.*

CARDINAL *Wolſey* ſetting out in the beginning of *July*, as it had been agreed in the late Treaty, went to *Abbeville*, there to ſtay till the Arrival of the King of *France* at *Amiens*.

* IT has been lately computed that the Salt in this Diſtrict, which lies in a Bay on the Coaſt of *Saintonge*, brings in the *French* King 14 Millions of Livres *per Annum*.

He

He was regal'd in *France* with all the Honours that cou'd be paid to a crown'd Head. While he ſtaid at *Abbeville*, he receiv'd an Anſwer from the Emperor, touching his Diſpute with the King of *France*. It ſeem'd by this Anſwer, which ſhall be inſerted hereafter, that the Emperor had a vaſt Regard for *Henry*, and that he conſented to accept the firſt Offers which *Francis* I. had made to the Viceroy of *Naples*, tho with certain Reſtrictions which very much alter'd them. Nevertheleſs, the Difficulties were not inſurmountable, if *Francis* had had the ſame Inclination for Peace as he had when he made the firſt Propoſals. But he was quite otherwiſe diſpos'd ſince he had concluded an offenſive League with *Henry*. Beſides, he had already reſolv'd to ſend a powerful Army into *Italy*, under the Command of *Lautrec*, in order to make a Conqueſt of *Naples*, which he thought very feaſible. For this Reaſon, all the Reply which he made to the Emperor's Propoſals, at leaſt as far as appears to me, was with a deſign to deceive. But this is not a place to conſider it.

A. 1527.

The Emperor's Anſwer to the Offers of France.

IT muſt be obſerv'd here, as a thing very neceſſary for underſtanding the Affairs to which the Acts in this Volume of the *Fœdera* relate, that *Henry* had already reſolv'd upon his Divorce from *Catherine*; and that in a few days after *Wolſey*'s Departure for *Abbeville*, *Knight* was ſent to *Italy* to negotiate this Affair at *Rome*. Moreover, while *Wolſey* was in *France*, he wrote to *Henry* that the Affair of the Divorce already made a Noiſe in *Spain*, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to order the Ambaſſadors of *England* to quaſh the Report as much as poſſible, by giving out that it was only owing to an Objection rais'd by the Biſhop

An Ambaſſador ſent to Rome *to negotiate* Henry's *Divorce from* Catherine.

H. VIII. ſhop of *Tarbe* upon the Birth of the Princeſs *Mary*.

Three new Treaties with Fra.

THE Conferences between *Francis* I. and the Cardinal produc'd three new Treaties; by the firſt of which it was ſtipulated, that ſince by the Treaty of *April* 30, it was left to the King of *France*'s Option, either to marry the Princeſs *Mary* himſelf, or to leave her for his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*, it was agreed that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhou'd marry her when both Parties came of Age; that then only, and not before, the Marriage Articles ſhou'd be negotiated; and that even tho both Kings ſhou'd think fit to diſpoſe of their Children otherwiſe, the other Treaties ſhou'd nevertheleſs remain in full Force, the ſaid Marriage being to be conſider'd only as a Supplement, and not as dependent on the other Treaties. As it no where appears that *Francis* I. was diſguſted with *Henry* for offering to give him, or the Prince his Son, a Daughter whom he endeavour'd in Fact to get declar'd Illegitimate, by demanding his Divorce from the Queen her Mother; yet 'tis very probable that *Wolſey* told *Henry*'s Deſign to *Francis* I. in confidence, and that it gave occaſion to this firſt Article of the Treaty, the reſt of which were only Conventions relating to the Expence of the War.

THE ſecond Treaty related to the Payment of ſome Penſions which *Francis Sforza* ſtood engag'd for to the two Kings, in caſe he ſhou'd be reſtor'd to *Milan*, *Henry*'s Guaranty of the Treaty which *Francis* I. ſhou'd make with the Emperor, and ſome other Articles.

THE third contain'd a Regulation for the Direction of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of the two Kingdoms during the Pope's Captivity.

THESE

THESE Treaties were ſign'd the 18th of *Auguſt*; and *Knight*, as I have already ſaid, departed about the beginning of *July* for *Italy*, to demand the Divorce from the Pope. *A.* 1527.

HENRY's View in making an offenſive League with *France*, was to oblige the Emperor to court his Friendſhip, and to let the Affair of the Divorce go on ſmoothly, without giving himſelf any trouble to ſupport the Intereſts of his Aunt Queen *Catherine*. But to conceal the true Motive of it, he demanded four things of the Emperor. 1. That he ſhou'd pay him all he ow'd him. 2. That he ſhou'd pay him 500000 Crowns, as he had engag'd, in caſe he did not marry the Princeſs *Mary*. 3. That according to their Treaty, he ſhou'd make him amends for the Penſion paid him by the King of *France*. 4. That he ſhou'd ſet the Pope at Liberty, and make good all his Loſſes to him. The Emperor made Anſwer, that he knew he was a Debtor to the King of *England*, but that he was greatly ſurpriz'd that the Payment of thoſe Debts ſhou'd be demanded of him at ſuch a Juncture, without the leaſt Offer of giving him up his Bonds; and that he himſelf wou'd write to the King, and acquaint him with the Reaſons why he did not think himſelf oblig'd to pay the 500000 Crowns for not having marry'd the Princeſs *Mary*; and that he had already iſſued his Orders to ſet the Pope at Liberty.

Henry's aim in the League with Fra.

His demands of the Emperor.

Emperor's Anſwer.

BEFORE we conclude this Article, we muſt add a word or two of the Occurrences in *Italy*.

THE Pope was ſtill ſhut up in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, becauſe he was not able to perform the Articles of his Capitulation, and was ſtrictly enough confin'd; yet he found means to

H. VIII. to write a Letter to *Henry*, which was ſign'd by the 13 Cardinals, his Fellow-Priſoners, intreating him to uſe his Intereſt and Power in his favour. On the other hand, *Francis* I. had already made a particular League with the *Venetians* to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, of which League *Lautrec* was appointed to be the General. The two Armies of *France* and *Venice* joining in the *Milaneſe*, made ſome Conqueſts there, and took *Pavia* by Storm. At the ſame time *Andrew Doria* found means to reduce *Genoa* under the Dominion of the King of *France*. At length *Lautrec* leaving the Duke of *Urbino* in the *Milaneſe* with the *Venetian* Troops, march'd towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, but ſo ſlowly, that it was plain he had Orders to make no great haſte. The Reaſon was, becauſe the King of *France* was willing to ſtay for the Emperor's final Anſwer.

Pope's Letter to K. Henry *from the Caſtle of* St. Angelo.

King of France's *League with the* Venetians.

Pavia *taken, and* Genoa *ſubdued.*

Lautrec's *ſlow march to* Naples.

LAUTREC's March, tho ſlow, was very lucky for the Pope. For the Emperor underſtanding that his Army which was ſtill at *Rome*, and diminiſh'd two thirds by the Plague and Debaucheries, would be oblig'd to leave the City, in order to go and defend the Kingdom of *Naples*, conſented at length that the Pope ſhou'd be ſet at Liberty, on condition that he wou'd pay the Arrears due to the Army. Therefore he made a Treaty on this Head, by which it was ſtipulated that the Pope ſhou'd remit 350000 Crowns to the Imperial Army, and that he ſhou'd be releas'd out of the Caſtle of *St. Angelo* on the 10th of *December*, and remov'd to another place, there to be kept in Cuſtody till he had perform'd this Treaty. But *Clement* being not ſure that he was able to perform his Engagements, eſcap'd on the 9th of *December* at Night, in the Diſguiſe of a Merchant, to *Orvieto*.

Treaty for the Pope's removal from the Caſtle of St. Angelo.

His Eſcape to Orvieto.

Orvieto. And not long after *Lautrec* advancing to *Bologna*, receiv'd a Letter from the Pope, which gave him to understand that he did not think himself oblig'd to perform the Articles which he had been forc'd to consent to. *A.* 1527.

THE Acts which relate to the aforesaid History, are as follow, *viz.*

1. A Letter from *Andrew Gritti* Doge of *Venice*, to Cardinal *Wolsey*, thanking him for the Pains he took in procuring the Peace betwixt the Emperor and the Republick; dated *July* 31. 1523. at *Venice*. *Doge of Venice's Letter to Wolsey.* 3.

2. LETTERS Patent of *Francis* I. for appointing *Louisa* of *Savoy* his Mother, Regent in *France*; dated at *Gien* upon the *Loire*, *Aug.* 12. 1523. *Patents for the Regent of France.* 6.

'THIS was at the very time that *Francis* 'was preparing to go to *Italy*, before the Dis-'covery of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Conspiracy.'

3. A Letter from *Clement* VII. to Cardinal *Wolsey*, advising him of his Advancement to the Pontificate, on the 13th of the Calends of *December* 1523. 'Tis dated at *Rome* the 6th of the Calends of the same Month. *New Pope's Letter to Wolsey.* 11.

4. CREDENTIALS from *Andrew Gritti* Doge of *Venice*, for an Ambassador of the Republick, address'd to Cardinal *Wolsey*; dated *March* 31. 1525. at *Venice*. *Ambassador's Credentials address'd to Wolsey.* 36.

'This was after the Battle of *Pavia*, at the 'very time when the *Venetians* made their Ef-'forts to form a League against the Empe-'ror.

5. A Letter from *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan* to King *Henry*, concerning the Battle of *Pavia*; dated *May* 12. 1525. at *Milan*. *Letter to Henry on the Battle of Pavia,* 36.

6. A

H. VIII.

French *Ambaſſadors Commiſſion to treat with* Henry. 37.

6. A Commiſſion from *Louiſa* of *Savoy*, Regent of *France*, to *John Brinon* Lord of *Villaines*, and to *Joachim* of *Paſſan*, Lord of *Vaux*, to treat with *Henry*; dated at *Lyons June* 9. 1525.

King of France's *Obligation for a yearly Payment to the Kings of* England. 45.

7. A ſpecial Commiſſion from the Regent of *France*, for obliging the King her Son to the Payment of two Millions of Crowns of Gold, of thirty eight *Sous Tournois* each, to King *Henry* and his Succeſſors; dated *Aug.* 16. 1525. at *Tours*.

'All the Conditions of the Treaty of *Moore* 'were ſettled at that time, ſo that nothing 'was wanting in order to ſign it but this ſpe-'cial Power.

Firſt Treaty at Moore. 48.

8. THE firſt Treaty of Peace, Friendſhip, and defenſive Alliance betwixt *Henry* VIII. and *Francis* I. concluded at *Moore*; dated *Aug.* 30. 1525.

'HERE is a mutual Promiſe to aſſiſt one 'another.

'THE King of *Scotland* is included in it by '*France*, and the Emperor by *England*.

'*HENRY* engages to intercede for the 'Liberty of *Francis*: *France* ſhall give the Bonds 'of 10 Noblemen, and 9 great Cities, for the 'Execution of the Treaty.

'AND *Francis* I. ſhall ratify it with his 'own Hand.

Fr. *Ambaſſadors Oath to obſerve it.* 57.

9. THE Oath of the Ambaſſadors of *France* for the Obſervation of it.

10. SECOND Treaty for the Payment of certain Sums of Money due to *Henry*.

'ALL the Sums due reduc'd into Crowns 'of Gold of 38 *Sous*, amounted to One Mil-'lion, eight hundred ninety four thouſand, 'ſeven hundred 36 Crowns 32 *Sous*.'

'THE

'THE Regent engag'd the King her Son to pay 47368 Crowns 16 Sous every Month till the whole was paid.' *A.* 1527.

'AND moreover, in caſe that *Henry* ſhou'd ſurvive the entire Payment of it, he was to receive 100000 Crowns *per Annum* during his Life, payable at two Terms.'

11. THE third Treaty was for the Payment of the Arrears of the Jointure of *Mary* Ducheſs of *Suffolk*, Queen Dowager of *France*. *Third Treaty.* 69.

'THE Regent engag'd her ſelf for the Payment of this Jointure for the future, and for the diſcharge of the Arrears, paying 10000 Crowns a Year till the whole was ſatisfy'd.

12. THE fourth Treaty was againſt the Incroachments or Depredations which either Nation might make for the future. *Fourth Treaty.* 70.

13. THE fifth Treaty had an Article for including the King of *Scotland* in the Treaty of Peace. *Fifth Treaty.* 74.

14. AND the ſixth Treaty related to the Duke of *Albany*. All theſe, which properly were but Articles of one and the ſame Treaty, are of the ſame Date: but I ſhall treat more particularly of the two laſt, under the Article of *Scotland*. *Sixth Treaty.* 75.

15. THE Obligations of the Lords and Cities of *France* that were to be Security for performance of the Treaty of *Moore*, are from p. 90. of this XIVth Vol. of the *Fœdera* to p. 101. *Obligations for their performance.*

16. LETTERS Patent of the Regent of *France* in favour of Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated *Nov.* 18. 1525. at *Lyons*. *Wolſey's Patent from the Regent of France.* 100.

'THE Regent acknowledg'd that there was due from *France* to Cardinal *Wolſey*, 121898 Crowns, not only for the Arrears of four Years and half of his Penſion for the Biſhoprick

H. VIII. ‘ ſhoprick of *Tournay*, but for other Debts; and ‘ obliges her ſelf to pay that Sum in ſeven ‘ Years, *viz.* 16834 Crowns *per Annum*.

Acts relating to the above Treaty and the Ratification of it by Francis. 100 *to* 113.

17. Several Acts relating to the foregoing Treaties.

18. The Ratification of all theſe Treaties with *Francis* I. with his own Hand; dated at *Madrid Dec.* 27. 1525.

Sforza's *Letter to* Wolſey. 121.

19. Letter from *Francis Sforza* to Cardinal *Wolſey* to beg his Protection; dated at *Cremona Feb.* 7. 1526.

His Embaſſy to him. 128.

20. *FRANCIS Sforza's* Credentials for *George Cazali*, addreſs'd to Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated at *Milan March* 12. 1526.

Francis's *Bond for the two Millions.* 129.

21. The Obligation of *Francis* I. for the two Millions mention'd in the Treaty of *Moore*; dated at *Bayonne* the 17th of *March* 1526.

‘ The *French* Hiſtorians date the Deliverance of *Francis* I. from his Impriſonment on ‘ the 18th of *March*, and yet this Act is dated ‘ at *Bayonne* the 17th.’

His Ratifications of the Treaties of Moore. 134 *to* 154.

22. Authentick Ratifications of the Treaties of *Moore* by *Francis* I. dated at *Bourdeaux April* 15. 1526.

23. His Oath for obſerving the Treaty of *Moore*; dated at *Cognac May* 10. 1526.

His Commiſſion for a Negotiation with Henry. 177.

24. A Commiſſion from *Francis* I. to treat with *Henry* about what was proper to be negotiated with the Emperor; dated *June* 20. 1526. at *Angouleſme*.

Ambaſſador's Credentials to Wolſey. 179. 185.

25. Credentials for *Anthony Venier* the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, addreſs'd to Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated *July* 23. 1526. at *Venice*.

26. Another of the ſame Nature, addreſs'd to Queen *Catherine*; dated at *Venice* the 28th of *July*.

27. Trea-

27. TREATY between *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII. at *Hampton-Court*; dated *Aug.* 8. 1526. *A.* 1527. *Treaty of* Hampton Court. 185.

'TIS a reciprocal Engagement, that the one ſhou'd not treat with the Emperor without the other.

28. *CLEMENT* VIIth's Commiſſion to *Hubert de Gambara*, and *John Baptiſt Sanga*, to offer *Henry* the Title of *Protector of the League of* Italy, with a Penſion; dated at *Rome* the 18th of the Calends of *September* 1526. Henry *is invited to be Protector of the League of* Italy. 187.

29. RATIFICATION of the Treaty of *Hampton-Court*; dated *Aug.* 20. 1526. at *Amboiſe*. *Ratification of the above Treaty.* 191.

30. THE Duke of *Ferrara*'s Letter to *Henry*, to excuſe himſelf becauſe he cannot accommodate matters with *Clement* VII. dated *April* 4. 1527. *D. of* Ferrara's *Letter to* Henry. 194.

31. TREATY of perpetual Peace between *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII. dated at *Weſtminſter* *April* 30. 1527. *Another Treaty with* Francis. 218.

HENRY for himſelf, and his Succeſſors, renounces all Pretenſions which he may have to the Kingdom of *France*, and every part of it, and in general every Place of which *Francis* I. was then actually in poſſeſſion.

FRANCIS engages for himſelf and his Succeſſors, to pay the Sum of 50000 Crowns *per Ann.* at two Terms, to the Kings of *England* for ever, *viz.* 25000 Crowns at each Term; the firſt of which to commence on the 1ſt of *May* or *November* after *Henry*'s Death, tho it ſhou'd happen but one Day before it; and the Sum to be paid at *Calais* or *Canterbury*.

IN caſe that *Henry* ſhou'd die before the entire Payment of the two Millions due by a former Treaty, *Francis* ſhall pay the ſaid two Millions without prejudice or de-

H. VIII. ‘ duction of the Penſion of 50000 Crowns.

‘ MOREOVER, *Francis* engages to give ‘ *Henry* every Year, Salt of *Brouage*, to the Va- ‘ lue of 15000 Crowns.

‘ THAT the King of *France* and his Sub- ‘ jects ſhall not moleſt *Henry* nor his Succeſſors ‘ in the poſſeſſion of *Calais*, and the other Pla- ‘ ces he holds in *France*.

‘ THAT the Attempts that ſhall happen to ‘ be made by the Subjects of the two Kings, ‘ contrary to the Treaty, ſhall not be thought ‘ to invalidate it.

‘ THAT the two Kings, the Nobility of ‘ both Realms, and the Towns of —— ſhall ‘ ſwear to the Treaty, and make over their ‘ Eſtates for Security.

‘ THAT the Treaty ſhall be confirm'd by ‘ the Eſtates of *Normandy* and *Languedoc*, and ‘ by the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Tholouſe* and *Bour-* ‘ *deaux*; and in *England* by the Courts of Juſ- ‘ tice.'

ALL theſe Precautions were to no manner of purpoſe, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Wolſey *empower'd to treat for the Pope's Enlarge- ment.* 199.

32. A full Power granted to Cardinal *Wolſey* to treat with the Pope, the King of *France*, the *Venetians* and others, on ways and means for procuring Liberty to the Captive Pope; dated *June* 18. 1527. at *London*.

The Emperor's Anſwer to the Engliſh *Ambaſſadors about his Diſpute with* Fra. 200.

33. THE Emperor's Anſwer given in Writing to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, relating to his Diſpute with the King of *France*; dated at *Valladolid*, in *July* 1527.

AS this Anſwer clearly diſcovers the matters in Diſpute between the Emperor and the King of *France*, perhaps the Reader will not be diſpleas'd to ſee the Subſtance of it in this place.

‘ SINCE

'SINCE the moſt High, and moſt Excellent *A.* 1527.
'Prince, the King of *England*, as the moſt
'Chriſtian Prince and Defender of the Faith,
'has begun to ſet his Hand to ſo good a Work
'as the procuring a Reconciliation, and a uni-
'verſal Peace in Chriſtendom, and has there-
'fore oblig'd himſelf, ſince he has repeated his
'Offer, to perſevere in his good Purpoſe to
'employ himſelf in all things that may con-
'duce to the ſaid Peace of Chriſtendom, the
'Emperor and our Lord the King being de-
'ſirous that the ſaid King, and every one, may
'fully know that his Majeſty, as he always
'did, does now make it his whole Endeavour
'to attain to the ſaid Peace, has order'd the
'following Repreſentation to be made to the
'Ambaſſadors of *England* at this Court.

'IN the firſt place his Majeſty lays it down
'for a principal Foundation, that he does not
'aim in any manner whatſoever, by this pre-
'ſent Writing nor otherwiſe, to make any In-
'novation in the Faith and Oaths of the King
'of *France*; nor to derogate from the Treaty
'and Capitulation made at *Madrid*; and he
'backs it with this Proteſtation, to the end
'that every one may ſee and know that it was
'ever his Majeſty's deſire, as Experience has
'fully ſhewn, that a good, ſure, and firm Peace
'may be made for the Service of God, the
'Peace and Welfare of all Chriſtendom, and
'for obtaining a general Agreement and
'Friendſhip, both for repelling the *Turk*, and
'the Errors of *Luther*.

'HIS Majeſty ſays, that the Offers made
'by the King of *France* and his Mother to
'the Viceroy of *Naples* are very mean, and that
'they do not ſeem to be a Foundation for a
'good and firm Peace; nor can his Majeſty,

H. VIII. ‘upon that Ground be more ſecure of the performance of what may be concluded hereafter, ‘than of what has been treated and concluded, ‘but ill obſerv'd, by the ſaid Capitulation of ‘*Madrid*; and that if the moſt Chriſtian King ‘deſires to have his Children again, he knows ‘the reaſon for which he has put them in his ‘Majeſty's Power, and upon what Conditions ‘they continue in his Hands; the performance ‘of which Conditions is entirely in the Breaſt ‘of the moſt Chriſtian King, without any ‘room for urging an impoſſibility. And if he ‘offers to plead that he is not bound to them, ‘and produces Reaſons why, he muſt take this ‘for an Anſwer, That by all the Laws, Divine, ‘Civil, and Canon, and alſo by all the Laws ‘of War, he is entirely bound to them, and ‘that no Fear, Force or Protection can excuſe ‘him. Nevertheleſs, becauſe for the ſake of ‘ſuch a Peace, his Majeſty was willing not ‘only to give up a part of his Right, but ‘alſo to quit his own Property if the King of ‘*France* wou'd make the ſame Offers on his ‘part, as were made to the Viceroy of *Naples*, which were *verbatim* as follows.

THE King and Madam (Louiſa *his Mother*) *ſay, That they will perform the Treaty of* Madrid, *provided the Emperor will reſtore the Duke of* Milan. *That for* Burgundy, *they will pay the Emperor two Millions of Gold in the manner following,* viz. *a good Sum in hand, at which time Queen* (Eleanor) *ſhou'd be deliver'd up, and the reſt upon a Day to be agreed on, and that then his Children ſhou'd alſo be deliver'd up. And if the Emperor had rather have the whole Sum of two Millions at one Payment, the Emperor ſhall upon Receipt thereof deliver up the Queen and the King's Children. Moreover the ſaid*

King

King will pay the King of England *what the Emperor owes him: And the King desires that the Emperor wou'd be pleased to augment Queen* Eleanor's *Dowry, in proportion to the Sum he was to receive, because he may do it without costing him a Penny.* A. 1527

'His Majesty, to give essential Demonstration of the great Love which he bears to the 'King of *England*, his good Brother; and to 'the end that by his Mediation there may be 'a good and firm Peace, will not refuse to 'hearken to the offers abovemention'd, admitting them to be explain'd jointly with the 'eight Declarations following.

1. 'THAT whatever Capitulation and 'Treaty be made, it be according to the above 'Protest, without any Innovation or Alteration of the said Capitulation and Treaty of '*Madrid*; except in such things only as shall 'be expresly innovated and alter'd by mutual 'Consent.

2. 'THAT whatever Capitulation and 'Treaty be made for dropping and suspending 'the Restitution of the Duchy of *Burgundy* at 'this time, be without any manner of prejudice 'or diminution of the Right which his Majesty 'justly has and claims to it, as Sovereign thereof, or under any Title whatsoever belonging 'to his said Majesty, before the Capitulation 'of *Madrid* *.

* As there was no Sum stipulated in the Treaty of *Madrid*, for the King's ransom, and as the Restitution of *Burgundy* was mention'd instead of the Ransom, the Emperor was in the right to keep up his Claim to *Burgundy*; otherwise *Francis* wou'd have pay'd his Ransom with two Millions, and abolish'd the Emperor's Pretensions to that Duchy.

H. VIII.

3. 'THAT all the Articles of the Treaty 'of *Madrid*, of which no mention or alteration 'is made in the ſaid Offers, whether General 'or Particular, remain in full Force, and be 'entirely perform'd, according the ſaid Capi-'tulation of *Madrid*.

4. 'THAT ſince his Majeſty does not ac-'cept of the two Millions of Gold over and a-'bove the Penſion given by way of Indemnity †, 'and the Moneys lent, which the Viceroy, as 'above mention'd, offer'd to his Majeſty, he 'hopes that the ſaid Lord, the King of *Eng-'land*, and the Legate, will obtain an Augmen-'tation of the ſaid Sum of two Millions. 'Nevertheleſs, if an Addition cannot be made 'to the ſaid Sum of two Millions, be it under-'ſtood, that what is now to be concluded and 'accompliſh'd on the part of the King of '*France*, be for the Payment of two Mil-'lions of Crowns of Gold of good and 'lawful Weight, and of what his Majeſty 'owes to the King of *England*, as well for 'Monies lent, which by the ſaid Propoſals 'made to the Viceroy, the King of *France* 'has offer'd to his Majeſty **, as alſo for the 'Indemnity Money which the King of *France* 'has undertaken by the ſaid Treaty of *Madrid*; 'And alſo for the Reſtitution of the Eſtate of 'the late Duke of *Bourbon*, becauſe in his ſtead, 'his Heirs have all manner of Right to enjoy 'the benefit of the ſaid Treaty; and that in 'all other things for which the King of *France*

† THIS was for the Penſion which *Francis* I. paid to *Henry*, and which the Emperor undertook to pay him when *Henry* took his Part.

** *Francis* did not engage himſelf to pay what the Emperor ow'd to *Henry*, by the Treaty of *Madrid*, but only by the Offers made to the Viceroy.

'remains

'remains anſwerable, he may accompliſh them entirely before the Princes his Children depart out of the Kingdom of *Spain*; ſince conſidering what has happen'd, the Emperor can have no real Security, that what has been concluded and agreed on ſhall be perform'd when the ſaid Children are out of his Power. *A.* 1527.

'THE fifth Declaration is, That whatever ſhall be concluded, be ratify'd by the States General of the Kingdom of *France*, and approv'd by the Parliments, conformably to the ſaid Treaty of *Madrid*. And in caſe it can't be done by the General Aſſembly of the States, that it be ratify'd however in the ſame Form by the particular States of every Province.

'THE ſixth Declaration is, That his Majeſty ſhall not be oblig'd to ſend into *France*, Queen *Eleanor* his Siſter, till all the Promiſes made by the King of *France* are perform'd. And that the Queen and the Children who are Hoſtages, ſhall be ſent home together, as is declar'd by the ſaid Treaty of *Madrid*.

'THE ſeventh Declaration is, That ſince it belongs only to his Majeſty to take Cognizance of the Faults of his Feudatories, yet at the Interceſſion of the ſaid King of *England*, the Emperor deſiring that his Vaſſals may have ſpeedy Juſtice done them, is content, that at ſuch time as ſhall be thought beſt, unſuſpected Judges whom his Majeſty ſhall depute, make a Declaration of Juſtice in the Affair of Duke *Francis Sforza*. And if by Sentence of the ſaid Judges, he is declar'd to have done nothing whereby he ought to be depriv'd and ejected out of the State of *Milan*, then his Majeſty

H. VIII. ‘ will be content, that the ſaid *Francis* be re-
‘ ſtor'd to his former State, conform to the In-
‘ veſtiture and Decree which his Majeſty ſent
‘ to him from *Toledo* *. But if, on the contrary,
‘ he is condemn'd, in ſuch Caſe the ſaid State
‘ of *Milan* ſhall remain at his Majeſty's diſpoſal,
‘ as there is very good Reaſon †.

‘ The eighth Declaration ** is, That the
‘ ſaid King of *England* be Conſervator, Pro-
‘ tector and Guarantee of the Treaty and Ca-
‘ pitulation which ſhall be made: And the ſaid
‘ King of *England* ſhall give his Bond in am-
‘ ple Form, obliging himſelf actually to aſſiſt
‘ the Party who ſhall obſerve the Peace, and
‘ immediately declare himſelf for him, againſt
‘ him that breaks it; and that for this purpoſe,
‘ he ſend a number of Horſe and Foot to be
‘ rais'd at his own Expence, and continu'd
‘ even to the end of the War, as ſhall be de-
‘ clar'd by the ſaid Treaty.

‘ And becauſe, ſince the Treaty of *Madrid*,
‘ his Majeſty, as is well known, has been at
‘ great Expence to defend himſelf from the in-
‘ vaſion of Leagues form'd againſt him, of
‘ which the King of *France* has been the prin-
‘ cipal Contractor, 'tis but reaſonable that the
‘ ſaid King of *France* ſhou'd recompenſe and
‘ ſatisfy his Majeſty for ſuch his Expence. Of
‘ which Sums ſo to be paid by the King of
‘ *France*, and reimburs'd to his Imperial Ma-
‘ jeſty,

* This Decree requir'd *Sforza* to pay him 1200000 Ducats before he receiv'd the Inveſtiture, which it was impoſſible for him to raiſe.

† The Emperor had Proofs in his Hands of *Sforza*'s Rebellion, in which he was ſupported by the Regent of *France*, the Pope, and the *Venetians*.

** This Declaration was the reaſon that *Francis* and *Henry* agreed by a late Treaty, that *Henry* ſhou'd not be Guarantee of the Treaty.

'jesty, so entire is his Majesty's Confidence in, *A.* 1527.
'and Affection for, the King of *England*, his
'good Brother and Uncle, that he is content
'he shou'd declare and arbitrate the Sum of
'the said Expences.

'MOREOVER his Majesty makes no doubt,
'but hopes and firmly trusts, that the said
'Lord the King of *England* knowing his Ma-
'jesty's just Right, and being well inform'd
'how all things stand betwixt his Majesty and
'the said King of *France*, according to the
'original Writing at large shewn to his Am-
'bassadors here, will cause the said Conditions
'to be amended, as in Reason they ought to
'be, and that the Legate whom his Majesty
'always did, and does still esteem as his Friend,
'will contribute to it with all his Power. And
'nevertheless, if in regard to the said Lord the
'King of *England*, at his Request, and in
'Love to him, he desires that his Majesty
'shou'd recede from the above-written; verily
'his Majesty has such a Confidence in and so
'great an Affection for the said Lord the King
'his good Brother and Uncle, that in such
'case he wou'd do more for his sake than for
'any Prince in the World, to the end that all
'may know his Majesty's good Will towards
'the said Lord the King of *England*, and that
'to him ought to be ascrib'd the Praise and
'Glory of this Peace and Agreement, which
'the Emperor has always heartily desir'd, and
'for which, as Experience has shewn, he has
'done more than he ought in reason.

34. LETTERS Patent of *Francis* I. in favour of Cardinal *Wolsey*; dated at *St. Dennis* in *France*, in *July* 1527. *King of* France's *Power to* Wolsey *to pardon Criminals.*

IN

H VIII. In theſe Letters, *Francis* empowers his moſt dear and great Friend, the Cardinal of *York*, who was then going over to *France*, to pardon all Crimes, ſome few excepted, and to ſet open Priſons in the Towns of his Kingdom, thro' which he paſs'd.

His Conventions with Wolſey. 203.

35. Conventions between *Francis* I. and Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated at *Amiens*, *Auguſt* 18, 1527. It was agreed,

1. That the Duke of *Orleans* ſhou'd marry the Princeſs *Mary*, &c. without any reciprocal Obligation on the part of the two Kings.

2. The Interwiew of the two Kings is put off to a more convenient time.

3. If the Emperor accepts of a Peace, the Treaty of perpetual Peace ſhall ſubſiſt; but if not, the two Kings ſhall declare War againſt him.

209. 36. Another Treaty of the ſame date; by which it was ſtipulated,

1. That if *Sforza* keep the Duchy of *Milan*, the two Kings ſhall demand the Penſions of him, which he has promis'd.

2. That the King of *England* ſhall not undertake the Guarantee of the Treaty between *Francis* and the Emperor, but that if a Peace cannot be made without it, *Henry* ſhall not act againſt the King of *France*, nor the King of *France* againſt him.

3. That during the War, the *Engliſh* Merchants ſhall have the ſame Privileges in *France* as they have enjoy'd this Year paſt, in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland* and *Zealand*.

212. 37. There's a third Treaty of the ſame date, by which it was agreed,

1. That the two Kings ſhall not conſent to the calling of a Council, if ſummon'dby the Emperor while the Pope is in Priſon.

2. That

2. THAT they will receive no Orders from the Court of *Rome*, till the Pope is fully at Liberty. *A.* 1527.

3. THAT Eccleſiaſtical Affairs ſhall be regulated in *England* by the Legate, and in *France*, by the Aſſembly of the Clergy.

38. THE Oath of *Francis* I. for obſerving thoſe Treatys, ſworn at *Amiens* the ſame Day, *viz. Auguſt* 18. *Francis's Oath to obſerve them.* 216, 217.

39. THE Ratification of the perpetual Peace by *Francis* I. of the ſame date. *His Ratification.* 218.

40. HIS Commiſſion to *Anne* of *Montmorency*, to carry the Order of St. *Michael* to King *Henry*; dated *September* 11, 1527. at *Compiegne*. *He makes Henry Knight of St.* Michael. 227. 228.

41. THE Act for electing *Henry* VIII. to the Order of St. *Michael*, of the ſame date.

THE Praiſes of *Henry* VIII. are not ſpar'd in this Act.

42. *HENRY* VIIIth's Oath for obſerving ſuch of the Statutes of the Order of St. *Michael* as are not contrary to thoſe of the Order of the Garter. *His Oath to obſerve the Statutes of the Order.* 229.

43. THE like Oath of *Francis* I. with reſpect to the Statutes of the Order of the Garter; dated *Nov*, 10, 1527. at *Paris*. *Francis's Oath on the Order of the Garter.* 232.

THIS Order was carry'd to him by *Arthur* Viſcount *de Liſle*, natural Son to *Edward* IV.

44. AN Acquittance given by *Francis* I. to *Henry*, for the payment of his Quota towards the Expences of the War in *Italy*, for the Months of *November* and *December*; 'tis ſign'd at *Paris*, *Dec.* 1, 1527. *His Acquittance to* Henry, *for his Quota towards the War.* 233.

THIS

H. VIII.

THIS Contribution was paid, Crowns.

By a Penſion due to *Henry*	47467
By the Cardinal's Penſion	12500
Ready Money	4576
	64543

II. *Affairs of* Scotland.

WE left the Duke of *Albany* going to *France*, after he had ſign'd a Truce with *England*. During his Abſence, *Henry* made all the Efforts poſſible to engage the *Scots* to deprive the Duke of *Albany* of the Regency, and reſtore it to the Queen Dowager his Siſter, with whom he was reconcil'd. As he ſaw himſelf engag'd in a War with *France*, he fear'd, not without Reaſon, that the Duke of *Albany* wou'd return to *Scotland*, and give him a Diverſion on the Northern Frontier. To prevent theſe Inconveniencies he ſent an Army to *Scotland* under the Earl of *Surry*, who committed great Ravages there, and ſeiz'd *Jedburgh*, but with no other View than to compel the *Scots* to grant him his demand.

Henry ſends an Army to Scotland, *and fomments Diviſions there.*

ON the other hand, he kept a good Fleet at Sea, in order to catch the Duke of *Albany*, if he ſhou'd attempt to return to *Scotland*. This was in effect what the Duke intended, and the King of *France* had given him a ſupply of 3000 Foot Soldiers, and 1200 Men at Arms, in order to keep up the Spirits of the *French* Faction in *Scotland*, which was juſt drooping. But his fear of the *Engliſh* Fleet hinder'd him from attempting the Paſſage. During this, the Troubles continued in *Scotland*, and *Henry* had the cunning to offer his Daughter to the King his Nephew, that his Party might have a pretext

He propoſes his Daughter Mary *to the K.*

to

to cry out for a Peace with *England* upon any Terms. Mean time, the Duke of *Albany* perceiving the impoſſibility of his returning to *Scotland* while the *Engliſh* Fleet kept out at Sea, thought of an Expedient which ſucceeded to his Expectation. He diſmiſs'd his Ships, and disbanded his Army, as if he had no more thoughts of paſſing to *Scotland*, and alſo retired to Court, after having given Order to his Troops and Fleet to rendezvous again upon the firſt Notice. *Henry* hearing that the Duke's Ships and Troops were diſpers'd, thought he had broke his Meaſures, and therefore call'd his own Fleet into his Harbours. But ſoon after this, the Duke of *Albany* put to Sea, and happily arriv'd in *Scotland* on the 20th of *September* 1523. This very Year he deſign'd to make an Incurſion into *England*, but when he was got upon the Frontier, perceiving that moſt of the great Men were not in a humour to go with him, he choſe to go back, the rather becauſe he heard the Earl of Surrey was marching directly to attack him. The Seaſon was too far advanc'd for the two Armies to keep the Field any longer, and they went into Winter Quarters. A. 1524.

The Duke of Albany *returns to* Scotland *by a Stratagem.*

In the year 1524, *Henry* being more and more averſe to the Emperor, and better inclin'd to *France*, did not diſturb the Tranquillity of *Scotland*. He knew well that there was no danger of any Diverſion from that Quarter, ſo long as he did not moleſt *France*. And this made the Duke of *Albany* reſolve to go and offer his Services to *Francis* I. who carry'd him with him into *Provence* and afterwards to *Italy*.

He returns to France.

While the Duke of *Albany* was abſent, King *James* who was then thirteen or fourteen Years of

A. 1524. of Age; being under the Direction of the Queen his Mother, and the Earl of *Arran*, who was of the *Hamilton* Family, ſummon'd a meeting of the States, and obtain'd an Order that there ſhou'd be a Regent no longer, and that for the future, no more Orders ſhou'd be diſpatch'd under any other Name but the King's. By that means this young Prince fell into the Hands of the Queen his Mother, and the Earl of *Arran*, who manag'd him juſt as they pleaſed. But the Earls of *Argyle* and *Lenox* diſguſted at this Alteration, ſent for the Earl of *Angus* from *France*, who was at variance with the Queen his Spouſe, and as ſoon as he arriv'd, they made a League with him to replace the King under a Guardian. They concerted meaſures ſo well that the Queen and the Earl of *Arran* were forc'd to put the King into their Hands. Then having declared themſelves Regents, they agreed to exerciſe the Regency, each Man four Months a Year in his turn. The Earl of *Angus* began firſt, and being a Creature of the King of *England*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to him to treat of the King of *Scotland*'s Marriage with *Mary*. *Henry* being deſirous to amuſe the *Scots* with the Hopes of this Match, conſented to a ſhort Truce which was afterwards prolong'd ſeveral times.

And is ſet aſide from the Regency.

The Earl of Angus *arrives in* Scotland *and makes a League with the Malecontents to replace the King under Guardians.*

Truce with Scotland.

I have already taken notice that after the Battle of *Pavia*, *Henry* turn'd intirely in favour of *France*, and that by Conſequence he had nothing more to do than to be upon his Guard againſt *Scotland*. Yet he continued his old Grudge againſt the D. of *Albany*; for in one of the Treaties of *Moore*, he demanded that the Queen Regent of *Scotland* ſhou'd not conſent directly, or indirectly to the Duke's Return into *Scotland*, during the Minority of King *James*.

MEAN time, the Earl of *Angus* having not thought fit to quit the Regency, when his Term of four Months was expir'd, the Earl of *Argyle* left the Court in great diſguſt, but the Earl of *Lenox* ſtay'd. *A.* 1526.

DURING the Year 1525, there were ſeveral Negotiations relating to the Marriage propos'd between *James* V. and the Princeſs *Mary*. But as *Henry* had no intention to conclude it, he ſtarted ſeveral Difficulties which gave occaſion to frequent Prolongations of the Truce.

AT length in 1526, a Truce for three Years was concluded betwixt the two Crowns. And for the reſt nothing conſiderable paſs'd in *Scotland*, during this and the following Years; except an Attempt made by the Queen Mother, and the Earl of *Arran*, aſſiſted by the Earl of *Lenox*, to take the King out of the Hands of the Earl of *Angus*; but it did not ſucceed. *Another.*

Acts relating to Scotland.

1. A Commiſſion from *James* V. to treat with *England*; dated *Auguſt* 30, 1524. at *Edinburgh*. *K. James's Commiſſion to treat with* England. 20.

2. A Treaty of Truce betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, to the firſt of *December*; dated at *Berwick*, *Sept.* 4, 1524. *Truce with* Scotland. 21.

3. AN Engagement by the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland*, that during the Truce, King *James* ſhall ſend an honourable Embaſſy to *Henry*; dated *Sept.* 5, 1524. at *Berwick*. *Embaſſy promis'd from King* James *to* Henry. 23.

4. A Commiſſion from the King of *Scotland*, to treat of his Marriage with *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry*, and concerning the Peace or Truce; dated *Nov.* 18, 1524. at *Edinburgh*. *Negotiation thereupon*, 27.

H. VIII. 5. A Truce betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, to the 26th of *January* 1525, dated *Nov.* 30,
Truce. 28. 1524.

30. 6. THE Prolongation of the Truce for two Months; dated *Jan.* 4, 1525. at *London.*

35. 7. ANOTHER Prolongation of it to the 15th of *May* following; dated *March* 23, 1525. at *London.*

Treaty of 8. TREATY betwixt *France* and *England*,
Moore. 48. with reſpect to *Scotland*; dated *Auguſt* 30, 1525.

THIS was one of the Treaties ſign'd at *Moore*, by which it was agreed, that if, after the 25th of *December*, the *Scots* make Incurſions into *England* with conſent of King *James*, they ſhall be no longer deem'd as included in the Treaty. And the ſame, if without Conſent of the ſaid King, unleſs he repair the Damages thereby occaſion'd in 40 Days.

9. Another Treaty of the ſame Date ſign'd at *Moore*, by which the Regent engaged to hinder the Return of the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland* till *James* V. came of Age.

10. A Commiſſion from *James* V. to treat with *England* for a three Years Truce; dated *Jan.* 6, 1526. at *Edinburgh.*

A Truce. 11. A Treaty of Truce for three Years be-
115. twixt *England* and *Scotland*; dated *Jan.* 15, 1526. at *Berwick.*

IT appears from the Earl of *Angus*'s full Power in p. 113. that this Truce was agreed on upon the 10th of *October* before.

Here

Here follows Mr. RAPIN's *farther Account of the State Records in* VOL. XIV. *of Mr.* RYMER's FŒDERA, viz. *from the beginning of the Year* 1528 *to the end of* 1533.

THE Divorce of *Henry* VIII. is the principal Subject of theſe ſix Years; but this Affair, tho of a Domeſtick Nature, is ſo interwoven with foreign Tranſactions, that there's no poſſibility of forming a true Idea of this, without underſtanding thoſe. Therefore before I enter upon the Divorce, I will with the utmoſt Brevity, ſhew how Affairs ſtood with *Clement* VII. *Charles* V. and *Francis* I. from the beginning of the Year 1528, to the Rupture betwixt *Henry* VIII. and the Court of *Rome*; which I propoſe for the Boundary of the Period into which I am now entring.

WHEN the Pope was eſcap'd out of his Confinement, * and found himſelf ſafe at *Orvieto*, he made ſerious Reflection upon his paſt Conduct, and upon the Slips he had been guilty of, which had ſo much tarniſh'd his Infallibility. He had conceiv'd a Notion, that if he enter'd into the War againſt the Emperor, in Conjunction with the *Venetians*, the Kings of *France* and *England* wou'd ſecond him with Vigour, and cut out ſo much Work for the Emperor, that he wou'd at length be forc'd to let go the Duchy of *Milan*. But Experience had convinc'd him of his Miſtake. All that *Francis* and *Henry* aim'd at, was to in-

The Pope is convinc'd of the Error of his paſt Conduct.

* THE Lord *Herbert* ſays, that during his Impriſonment, Cardinal *Wolſey* in *England*, as well as the Emperor in *Spain*, caus'd this Petition to be ſung with the Litany; *Sancta Maria, Sancte Petre*, &c. *orate pro Clemente Papa.*

H. VIII. timidate the Emperor. The firſt wanted to bring home his Children who were Hoſtages in *Spain.* And the ſecond hop'd to deter the Emperor by the apprehenſion of a cruel War, from oppoſing the Divorce he was fully reſolv'd to obtain from his Queen, who was that Emperor's Aunt. For this Reaſon, both theſe Monarchs acted but faintly in reality, tho they pretended what great Efforts they wou'd make. Conſequently the Pope was amus'd by theſe two Kings, till he loſt *Rome*, *Florence*, *Ravenna*, and *Cervia*, and was taken Priſoner, and forc'd to pay the very Army that had diſtreſs'd him. Theſe Diſgraces made him ſee his Error. He found that conſidering the then State of his own Affairs, and thoſe of the other Princes, it was his Intereſt to temporize with the Emperor, in order to open a way for a Reconciliation with him, if it happen'd that this Monarch ſhou'd preſerve himſelf in that degree of Power, to which he was then attain'd. But on the other hand, it was not adviſable for him to unite with the Emperor, while there was a *French* Army in *Italy*, under the Command of *Lautrec*, juſt ready to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*. He judg'd therefore that as Affairs then ſtood, he had no better Courſe to take, than to conform his Conduct to the Times, and to keep fair with the Emperor, as well as the two Kings his Allies, till he ſaw the Succeſs of the *Naples* Expedition: (and this was the Motive of his refuſing to go again into the League againſt the Emperor, on pretence that he was too weak to be of any Service to his Allies) and beſides he thought it neceſſary for the welfare of *Chriſtendom*, that he ſhou'd continue Neuter, to the end he might be in a Capacity of ſerving as Mediator.

His Reaſon for not re-entring into the League againſt the Emperor.

I

I have already taken notice that the aim of *Francis* I. was only to intimidate the Emperor, in order to oblige him to reſtore his Children to him, and to moderate the Conditions of the Treaty of *Madrid*. This is very plain, becauſe *Lautrec*, tho he arriv'd in *Piedmont* in *July* 1527, was ſtill at *Bologna* in *January* 1528, an evident Token that he had no Orders to haſten his Expedition, and that before he was to enter upon it, *Francis* had a mind to wait for the Emperor's final Reſolution upon the Offers he had made to him. At length *Lautrec* march'd the 9th of *January* 1528. and arriv'd at the beginning of *February* on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Then the Prince of *Orange*, General of the Imperial Troops which plunder'd *Rome* 10 Months ago, having got them to rendezvous with great difficultys, march'd out of the City, and went to ſhut himſelf up in *Naples*.

A. 1528.

Lautrec marches to Naples.

Prince of Orange *marches thither from* Rome.

AT the ſame time the Kings of *France* and *England* ſeverally declar'd War againſt the Emperor by a Herald. The Emperor receiv'd the Declaration with very great Solemnity in preſence of the whole Court, but return'd very different Anſwers to the two Heralds. He preſerv'd a great Decorum toward *Henry*, but did not think himſelf oblig'd to the ſame regard for *Francis*, whom he publickly reproach'd for having broke his Oath, and for not returning an Anſwer to the Offer he had made to him by his Ambaſſador the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, to decide their Quarrel by ſingle Combat. Theſe Reproaches occaſion'd reciprocal Defiances from both Monarchs, which came to nothing, and are needleſs to ſpeak of here.

Kings of France *and* England *declare War againſt the Emperor.*

Challenges betwixt the Emperor and the King of France.

H. VIII. MEAN time *Lautrec* advanced and laid Siege to *Naples*. It wou'd not be of moment to mention all the Rubs and Difficultys he met with during the Siege, from the want of Proviſions, from the Remiſſneſs of the King his Maſter to ſend him the Troops and Money he had given him reaſon to expect, and from the Revolt of *Andrew Doria*, who took that opportunity to free *Genoa* from its ſubjection to *France*, and to ſet the City at Liberty. It will ſuffice juſt to take notice that a great part of the Beſiegers Army was carry'd off by a Plague; that *Lautrec* himſelf dy'd of it on the 16th of *Auguſt*; and that the Marquis *de Saluces* who ſucceeded him in the Command of the Army, raiſing the Siege, and retiring to *Averſa*, was there beſieg'd, and oblig'd to ſurrender at Diſcretion; and that thereby the whole Army of *France* was abſolutely ruin'd.

Siege of Naples.

Revolt of Genoa.

Lautrec *and great part of his Army die of a Plague.*

Siege of Naples *rais'd.*

AFTER ſuch unexpected ſucceſs, the Pope was overjoy'd that he had ſo happily concerted his meaſures, and that he had avoided to re-engage in the League. After that time, he was firmly reſolv'd to make his Peace with the Emperor; the ſuccours he might expect from *France* and *England* being too uncertain, and too remote for him to depend on. But in order to his making a good Peace, it was abſolutely neceſſary to poſſeſs the Emperor with a ſtrong Apprehenſion of a very ſtrict Union like to be betwixt the Holy See, and *France* and *England*, to the end that ſuch Terror might force him to grant the Pope the better Terms. The affair of *Henry*'s Divorce now on foot ſerv'd as a very good Handle for his purpoſe, becauſe while he feign'd an Inclination to favour this Prince, the Emperor did not know but he had farther Views, and that he

Pope's Negotiation with the Emperor.

he might intend a ſtrict League with him. The knowledge of the Views and Intereſts of *Clement* VII. is abſolutely neceſſary for a true inſight into the Affair of the Divorce, as the Sequel of it will plainly ſhew. *A.* 1529.

FRANCIS I. finding himſelf unable to carry on the War any longer, and having ſome Intelligence that the Pope was ſecretly treating with the Emperor deſpair'd more and more of recovering his Children from *Spain* by Force of Arms. Therefore it was with great Reluctance, that he was oblig'd to carry on a ſecret Negociation with the Emperor, at the very time that he made large Promiſes to the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, in order to keep them in the League, that he might obtain the better Terms. *The King of* France *alſo treats privately with the Emperor.*

AT length the Pope receiv'd the agreeable news that his Treaty with the Emperor was concluded and ſign'd at *Barcelona*, on the 29th of *June* 1529. By this Treaty the Emperor engag'd to put him again in the poſſeſſion of *Florence*, to procure him the Reſtitution of *Ravenna*, *Cervia*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*, and to aſſiſt in the Conqueſt of *Ferrara*. Moreover he oblig'd himſelf to re-eſtabliſh *Francis Sforza* in the Duchy of *Milan*, if he was found Innocent; and if Guilty, not to diſpoſe of that Duchy, but with the Pope's Conſent. Finally, he promis'd to give his natural Daughter *Margaret* in Marriage to *Alexander de Medicis*, Son to the late Duke *Lawrence*, and to grant him the Sovereignty of *Florence*. *Concluſion of the Pope's Treaty.*

TWO Months after the Treaty of *Barcelona*, a Peace was ſign'd at *Cambray*, betwixt the Emperor and *Francis* I. By this new Treaty *Francis* entirely abandon'd the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and the Duke of *Ferrara* his Allies, *And of the King of* France's.

H. VIII. and he undertook to pay the King of *England* 290000 Crowns, on the Emperor's Account, and to redeem the rich *Flower de Lys*, which *Maximilian* I. had pawn'd to *Henry* VII. for 50000 Crowns *. There were ſeveral other Articles, which, tho more favourable than were thoſe of the Treaty of *Madrid*, nevertheleſs made him very uneaſy, but he ſaw no way to help himſelf. *Henry* gave him upon this occaſion a very ſenſible Proof of his Friendſhip, by excuſing him from the Payment which he was to make to him for the Emperor, and by making him a Preſent of the Jewel he had in his Cuſtody, that he might reſtore it with his own Hands to the Emperor.

THE two Treaties of *Barcelona* and *Cambray*, entirely chang'd the Face of Affairs almoſt all over *Europe*. The Pope being now become the Friend and Ally of *Charles* V, recover'd *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, and had the extraordinary Satisfaction to ſee *Florence* beſieg'd by the Imperial Army, and at length oblig'd to receive *Alexander de Medicis* for its Sovereign; he had alſo the Pleaſure of ſeeing *Sforza* re-eſtabliſh'd at *Milan*. He wanted nothing more to compleat his Joy, than to ſee himſelf Maſter of *Ferrara*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*; but in this reſpect the Emperor found means to elude his Promiſes, and the Pope was oblig'd to ſubmit, tho not a little mortify'd to find himſelf thus impos'd on. On the other hand, *Francis* I. recover'd his Children from *Spain*, after having oblig'd himſelf by the Treaty of

Florence *reduc'd.*

And Sforza *re-eſtabliſh'd at* Milan.

Francis *recovers his Children that were Hoſtages to the Emperor.*

* THIS was a Jewel in form of a *Flower de Lys*, wherein as M. *Bellay* ſays was a piece of Wood, pretended to be that of our Saviour's Croſs.

Cambray,

Cambray, to make War no more againſt the Emperor; tho this Prince became more and more formidable to him every day. For he ſaw too plainly that *Charles* V. after having in a manner ſubdued *Italy*, was in a fair way of making himſelf abſolute in *Germany*, under pretence of reducing the Proteſtants who were united together by the League of *Smalcald*, for Defence of their Religion and Liberty. All this made *Francis* to the laſt degree jealous, becauſe the growth of the Emperor's Power cou'd not but be fatal in the end to *France*. Therefore he ſet up a Reſolution to find out ſuch a Diverſion for that Prince, as ſhou'd put it out of his Power to execute his Projects. *A.* 1529. *Francis's jealouſy of the Emperor's Growing Power.*

WITH this View, finding that the Pope was diſguſted becauſe of the Protection which the Emperor granted to the Duke of *Ferrara*, he courted his Intereſt by making a Propoſal to him of a Marriage betwixt his ſecond Son, the Duke of *Orleans*; and *Catherine de Medicis*, Daughter of the late Duke *Lawrence*. At the ſame time he promis'd ſuccours to the Proteſtants of *Germany*, and endeavour'd to cultivate his Union with *Henry* VIII. more and more, by making him believe that he wou'd ſecond him with all his Power, in the obtaining his Divorce at the Court of *Rome*. *He courts the Pope.* *And King Henry.*

HENRY deſir'd nothing better than ſuch a Support as the Power of *France*, but he was not thorowly Maſter of his Friend's Views. The aim of *Francis* I. was to breed variance betwixt the Emperor and *Henry*, for fear that if they ſhou'd be good Friends, he ſhou'd have no Proſpect of recovering *Genoa* and *Milan*, which he cou'd not attain to but by embroiling the Affairs of *Europe* once more. *Whom he preſſes to puſh on his Divorce.*

With

H. VIII. With this View he advis'd King *Henry* to puſh on the Affair of the *Divorce* in ſpite of all Obſtructions, becauſe he knew that wou'd prevent his Reconciliation with the Emperor; and for this end he made him believe that he wou'd even break with the Pope rather than abandon his Intereſts: But at the ſame time he promoted the Negotiation for the Marriage of *Catherine de Medicis* with the Duke of *Orleans*. Mean while, as he pretended to be *Henry*'s dear Friend, he gave him to underſtand, that nothing was more likely to bring the Affair of the Divorce to a happy Iſſue, than to frighten the Emperor and the Pope with the Apprehenſion of a powerful League betwixt *France* and *England* in order to hinder the Emperor from oppoſing the Divorce, and the Pope from reverting to the Emperor. With this View, *Francis* and *Henry* made ſeveral Treaties together to make the Publick believe that they had great Deſigns upon the Anvil. But the bare reading of thoſe Treaties ſhews they had no other end but to ereate a Jealouſy in the Emperor and the Pope. They alſo conferr'd together in *Picardy*, and ſign'd a Convention, by which they engag'd to raiſe an Army of 80000 Men, for Defence of *Chriſtendom* againſt the *Turks*, whether in *Germany* or *Italy*, as ſhou'd be judg'd neceſſary. But this was pure Artifice to intimidate the Emperor. *Francis* I. acted his part ſo well at this Interview, that he fully determin'd *Henry* to marry *Anne* of *Bullen*, and by that means laid an inſuperable Obſtacle in the way of his Accommodation with the Emperor.

And makes ſeveral Treaties with him.

And perſuades him to Marry Anne *of* Bullen.

THE

THE publick and private Proceedings of the Kings of *France* and *England* made *Charles* V. very uneasy. It was apparent that these two Kings were in Treaty, and Couriers were continually flying betwixt *London* and *Paris*; but nothing more of their Treaties was known than what the Contracting Powers thought fit to publish; and they affected to have it believ'd that they had great Designs in Hand. The Emperor, who was on the point of being attack'd by the *Turks*, was very much embarrass'd. He was afraid that *Francis* and *Henry* as well as the Protestants of *Germany* wou'd lay hold of this opportunity to act against him; and he was not sure whether he cou'd depend on the Pope or the other Princes of *Italy*, because he had us'd none of them well. Mean time, as he was not in a Condition to guard against Opposition from all sides, he betook himself without delay to that where there was most Danger, and dissembled his Apprehension from any other Quarter. A Diet which he caus'd to be held in *Germany* having given such Satisfaction to the Protestants, as hinder'd them from rising, he march'd against the *Turks*, who had already penetrated into *Austria*; and tho he always avoided to run the risque of a Battle with them, he found means to oblige them to retire. After the happy Issue of this Campaign he went into *Italy*, to execute a Project which he had concerted before-hand. He endeavour'd to persuade all the Powers of *Italy* to make a League together, and always to keep an Army on Foot of which himself was to name the General, for Defence of the Duchy of *Milan*, and the rest of *Italy*, against the Attacks which they had reason to fear from *France*. But the Pope and the other

A. 1529.

Emperor marches against the Turks, *whom he drives out of* Austria, *and then goes to* Italy.

Italian

H. VIII. *Italian* Princes, knowing that the Emperor wanted to enſlave them by means of an Army which they themſelves were to maintain, wou'd not engage to ſign the League, except only on condition that the Army ſhou'd not be rais'd but in caſe of neceſſity.

And makes a League with the Italian *Princes.*

Marriage of the D. of Orleans *and* Catherine de Medicis.

At length the Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans* and *Catherine de Medicis* being concluded, the Pope and *Francis* went with both Parties to *Marſeilles*, where the Marriage was conſummated. In this Interview, which gave Umbrage to the Emperor, *Francis* I. put the Differences betwixt the Pope and *Henry* on the Foot of an Accommodation from which he hop'd to reap great Advantage. But *Clement* VII. being won over by the Emperor, broke the Meaſures of the King of *France*, as we ſhall find in the next Article.

The moſt conſiderable Pieces in the XIVth Volume of the *Fœdera*, which relate to the above mention'd Affairs, are as follow.

Sforza's *Credentials to his Ambaſſador.* 234.

1. A Full Power from *Francis Sforza* for a certain Perſon to be preſent on his part at the Negotiations of the Peace, Dated *Febr.* 14. 1528. at *Cremona*.

SFORZA, *was at that time turn'd out of his Dominions by the Emperor.*

Treaty of Commerce betwixt France *and* Germany. 235.

2. A Commiſſion from *Francis* I. to treat of a Free Trade between his Subjects and thoſe of the Emperor; dated *March* 10, 1528. at St. *Germain en laye.*

Francis's *Commiſſion to* Henry *about the War with the Emp.* 236.

3. Another of the ſame nature to *John de Bellay* Biſhop of *Bayonne*, to treat with *Henry* after what manner and form to carry on the War againſt the Emperor, dated as above.

4. Ano-

4. ANOTHER relating to the Privileges to be granted to the *Engliſh* Merchants; of the ſame Date. *A.* 1529. *Merchants Privileges.* 237.

5. A Treaty of Truce for 8 Months between the Emperor and the Kings of *France* and *England*; dated *June* 24, 1528. at *Paris*. *Truce with the Emperor.* 258.

This Truce did not relate to Italy.

6. A Treaty betwixt *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII. for carrying the War from *Flanders* into *Italy*; and *Francis*'s Acquittance to *Henry* for 196800 Crowns, which has no Date of the Day of the Month. *Treaty for carrying the War into* Italy. 283.

According to all appearance this Treay was made after the Ruin of the French *Army before* Naples.

7. RATIFICATION of the foregoing Treaty by *Francis* I. dated *Dec.* 22, 1528. at St. *Germain en Laye*.

8. TREATY of *Madrid*, dated *Jan.* 14, 1526. *Treaty of* Madrid. 308.

I can't imagine for what reaſon Mr. *Rymer* inſerted this Treaty among the Acts of the Year 1529, unleſs it was that the Reader might more eaſily compare it with the following, *viz.*

9. THE Treaty of *Cambray*, between *Charles* V. and *Francis* I. dated *Aug.* 5, 1529. *Treaty of* Cambray. 326.

10. A Commiſſion from *Francis* I. to treat concerning certain Sums which he is to pay to the King of *England* on the Emperor's Account, according to the Treaty of *Cambray*, and particularly about the rich *Flower de Lys*, dated *Auguſt* 16, 1529. at St. *Quintin*, in the County of *Vermandois*. *Treaty betwixt* Francis *and* Henry *about the Money which the former was to pay him for the Emperor.* 306.

11. THE Pope's Abſolution to *Francis* I. from the Oath he took at his Coronation not to alienate any part of his Dominions; to the end

H. VIII. end that he might be able to execute the Treaty of *Cambray*; dated the 3d of the Calends of *December* 1529. at *Bologna*.

'If ths Oath which *Francis* took at his 'Coronation had been the true reaſon that 'hinder'd him from reſtoring the Duchy of '*Burgundy*, after the Treaty of *Madrid*, he 'might have had the like Diſpenſation from 'the Pope to have made his troubled Con-'ſcience eaſy.

Treaty for the War againſt the Turks. 354.

12. *HENRY*'s Full Power to treat in his Name with Emperor, *&c.* relating to the War againſt the *Turks*; dated at *London*, *Jan.* 21, 1530.

THIS was to wipe off the Reproach both he and the King of *France* met with from the Emperor, that they were not concern'd at the Danger with which *Chriſtendom* was threaten'd by the Infidels.

13. A Commiſſion from *Francis* I. to treat with *Henry* concerning the annual Penſion of 50000 Crowns, which by his conſent was to be appropriated for the preſent to recover the Children of *France*; dated *Jan.* 29, 1530. at *Divione*.

Henry's *Penſion on Salt.* 359.

14. ANOTHER for ſecuring *Henry*'s Penſion out of the Salt of *Brouage*, of the ſame Date as the former.

Gifts to the French *King and the latter's Bond.* 360.

15. A Bond of *Francis* I. whereby he owns that he has receiv'd by way of Gift from *Henry* 512222 Crowns of Gold in ready Money, and in Receipts for the Penſion he ow'd, beſides the rich *Flower de Lys*; on this condition, that if *Francis* does not obſerve the Treaty of perpetual Peace, he ſhall be accountable for all thoſe Sums; and to this *Francis* binds himſelf. Tis dated as above.

16. *FRANCIS*'s Commiſſion to receive of *Henry* the rich *Flower de Lys*, and to engage in his name to return that Jewel to him in 6 Months, if the Emperor refuſes to deliver up the Hoſtages; dated as above. *A.* 1532. *Commiſſion about the* Flower de Lys *pawn'd to* King Henry. 362.

17. A Treaty, by which *Francis* I. engaged to pay two Years Arrears of the Penſion on the Salt, with the Current Year; dated *Feb.* 18, 1530. at *London.*

18. *HENRY*'s Grant to the King of *France* of one Years Payment of the 50000 Crowns Penſion, to be employ'd for the Deliverance of the Hoſtages; of the ſame Date. Henry *gives up one Years Penſion from* France. 378.

19. THE *French* Ambaſſadors Receipt for the rich *Flower de Lys*; dated as above. *Treaty with* Francis. 435.

20. TREATY of Defenſive Alliance betwixt *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII. in caſe the Emperor ſhou'd attack either; dated *June* 23 1532. at *London.*

THIS is one of thoſe Treaties which the two Kings made a great Noiſe about. Every body knew they had ſign'd a Treaty, but the Contents of it no body cou'd tell: and if the Pope and the Emperor had but known it conſiſted of only two trifling Articles, they wou'd not have been near ſo much alarm'd.

THE Years 1531, and 1533, contain nothing of Importance upon this Subject.

II. *Domeſtick Affairs.*

THAT the matters contain'd in the Acts of theſe 6 Years may not be confounded, I ſhall ſplit this Article into two. In the firſt I will treat of the Affair of the Divorce; and in the ſecond of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Affairs, to which a great many pieces in this XIV. Vol. of the *Fœdera* relate.

The

The DIVORCE of Henry VIII.

Henry's Motives ſuing for a Divorce.

HENRY had liv'd 18 Years with *Catherine* of *Arragon* when he firſt reſolv'd to be divorc'd from her. This Deſign of his was founded chiefly upon two Reaſons, the one drawn from Religion, the other from Politicks. The religious Reaſon was, That as *Catherine* was Wife to Prince *Arthur*, *Henry*'s Brother, ſhe cou'd not be the Wife of her firſt Husband's Brother, without breach of God's Law. The Political Reaſon was a dependent on the former; for ſuppoſing, I will not ſay the Invalidity of *Catherine*'s ſecond Marriage, but only the Doubts to which it was liable, it follow'd that the Birth of the Princeſs *Mary* by that Marriage might be ſubject to Objections. By conſequence, the Succeſſion to the Crown after the King's Death remain'd in a ſtate of uncertainty, and moreover there was danger that the Kingdom wou'd be expos'd to a Civil War. For the King having no Male Iſſue, and indeed no reaſon to expect any, becauſe the Queen had not had any more Children for a long time, it was eaſy to foreſee that after the King's Death there wou'd be three Competitors for the Crown, *viz.* 1. *Mary* his Daughter. 2. *James* V. King of *Scotland*, who was his Nephew by his eldeſt Siſter; and, 3. His Niece, the eldeſt Daughter of the Ducheſs of *Suffolk*, *Henry*'s youngeſt Siſter. *Mary* might take advantage of the Diſpenſation of *Julius* II. which authoriz'd *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catherine*. The King of *Scotland* might pretend that this Marriage was null, according to the divine Law, and that by Conſequence *Mary* was a Baſtard; and the Ducheſs of *Suffolk*'s eldeſt Daughter

Daughter might alledge, that *Mary* being a Baſtard, and the King of *Scotland* a Foreigner, it was her Right to ſucceed to the Crown. *A.* 1527.

THESE were the two Reaſons upon which *Henry* reſolv'd with himſelf to make his Marriage void. But ſeveral have aſſerted that theſe were only Pretences; and that he had a third Reaſon, which they wou'd have us believe was the principal, or rather the only inducement of *Henry's* ſoliciting the Divorce, *viz.* his being ſo deeply in Love with *Anne* of *Bolleyn*, that he was reſolv'd to ſacrifice *Catherine* to that Paſſion. But without enlarging upon ſuch Proofs as might be produc'd to deſtroy this opinion, I ſhall only ſay in two Words, that 'tis in a manner impoſſible to tell the exact time when *Henry* began to have ſcruples about his Marriage, or when he firſt reſolv'd to have it made void, or at what time *Anne* of *Bolleyn*, who was in *France*, return'd to *England*, or at what time the King fell in Love with her. All that can be ſaid is, that 'tis very certain, that the Divorce was reſolv'd upon before the middle of the Year 1527; that 'tis very probable that *Anne* did not return from *France* to *England* with Sir *Thomas Bolleyn* her Father, who had been Ambaſſador there, till *September* or *October* in that Year, and that there's no Trace of the King's Paſſion for that Lady, to be diſcover'd before the Year 1528. After this, can one be certain that the King's Amour was the true Motive of his demanding a Divorce? If it were only ſaid that the Paſſion which the King was ſmitten with for that Lady, very much contributed to make him perſiſt in the Solicitation of the Divorce, in ſpite of all the Difficulties he met with, I ſhou'd frankly acquieſce; becauſe I am far

H. VIII. from thinking all the Proceedings or Actions of this Prince juſtifiable.

THO we have not all the Pieces relating to this Affair in the *Fœdera*, which no doubt wou'd have found a place there, if they had not been ſuppreſs'd in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and tho by that means we are depriv'd of ſeveral Hints which might have given Light into the Affair of the Divorce, yet 'tis neceſſary to give a brief Account of what paſs'd upon this Head. But without entring into the whole detail of it, which has been ſo well perform'd by the celebrated Author of the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of* England, I ſhall ſuppreſs every thing that relates to Religion and Conſcience, and confine my ſelf only to the Hiſtorical part of the Affair, and eſpecially to the Conduct of *Clement* VII. throughout the whole Courſe of it *.

* Mr. *Rapin* in his Hiſtory gives this general Account of the three *Engliſh* Hiſtorians who have treated more largely of this Matter than any others, *viz.* *Sanders*, the Lord *Herbert*, and Dr. *Burnet*, the late Biſhop of *Salisbury*. *Sanders* in his *Hiſtory of the Schiſm* of *England*, takes Pains to run down *Henry* VIII. and to ſhew that the Reformation of *England*, to which he gives the Name of *Schiſm*, was only owing to *Henry*'s Amour with *Anne* of *Bolleyn*; by which Suggeſtion that Writer thought he had given a mortal Stab to the Reformation; becauſe Mankind wou'd judge that a Building rais'd upon ſuch a Foundation cou'd not be the Work of God. Lord *Herbert* in his Hiſtory of *Henry* VIII. gave a large Account indeed of this Event, but only related naked Facts, and left his Reader to form his own Conſequences. Dr. *Burnet*'s chief View, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, was to ſhew that tho the Divorce made way for the Reformation, yet it was purely accidental. And he has ſo fully confuted the palpable Falſhoods with which *Sanders*'s Hiſtory abounds upon this Subject, that after what the Biſhop has ſaid, no Man of Candour will eſteem *Sanders* for an Author of Credit.

IN

IN *July* 1527, *Henry* diſpatch'd his Secretary *William Knight* to *Rome*, to deſire the Pope, who was at that time a Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, to ſign four Acts, which he ſent to him ready drawn up. The firſt was a Commiſſion to Cardinal *Wolſey* to judge of the validity of the Diſpenſation of *Julius* II. and of the King's Marriage with *Catherine*, concluded in conſequence thereof. The ſecond was a decretal Bull to make the King's Marriage void. The third was an authentic Licence to the King to marry another Woman. And the fourth an Engagement never to revoke any of the three preceding Acts. The Court of *England* cou'd not but be very confident of the Pope's Complaiſance, to imagine that he wou'd blindly ſign thoſe four Acts without any other notice of the Affair in queſtion, and without being certain whether ſuch an inſtance of his Complaiſance wou'd procure him his Freedom, and Re-eſtabliſhment in St. *Peter*'s Chair. Mean time *Henry* flatter'd himſelf that the Extremity to which the Pope was then reduc'd, and his Impatience for a Deliverance, which naturally he cou'd not expect but from *France* and *England*, wou'd incline him to diſpenſe with all Formalities. But tho *Clement* VII. cou'd not be ſure of Aſſiſtance from any Quarter but from theſe two Confederate Kings, yet he cou'd not be abſolutely certain that thoſe Monarchs wou'd do every thing for him that was in their Power, nor indeed that their Efforts wou'd be effectual; becauſe this depended on the Succeſs of the War. Indeed *Lautrec* was arriv'd in *Italy* with a *French* Army, and had Orders to attack the Kingdom of *Naples*, but the Succeſs of his Expedition was ſtill uncertain. If therefore the Pope had

A. 1527.

The Pope's Conduct in the Affair.

H. VIII. blindly done what *Henry* wou'd have had him, and it ſhou'd have happen'd afterwards that the War of *Naples* had not the expected ſucceſs, his condition wou'd have been worſe than it was, and no hopes of ever retrieving it. But on the other hand, as there was a Probability that *Francis* I. the King of *England*'s Friend and Ally, wou'd get the upper hand in *Italy*, it was the Pope's Intereſt to cultivate the Friendſhip of theſe two Monarchs, in caſe he ſhou'd have need of them. *Henry*'s ſtrong perſuaſion that the Pope cou'd refuſe him nothing, was the very thing that ſerved to keep him in ſuſpence. *Clement* VII. being ſtrictly guarded by the *Spaniards* at the time that *Knight* arriv'd at *Rome*, all that this Envoy cou'd do was to get a Memorial deliver'd to him relating to his Commiſſion. The Pope return'd a favourable Anſwer by word of Mouth, but it was not poſſible to puſh the Negotiation any further, while he was a Priſoner; ſo that it was not till after his Eſcape that *Caſſali* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in ordinary, and *Knight* went to him, in order to preſs him to ſign the four Acts abovemention'd. *Clement* VII. who engag'd himſelf only in general Terms, ſhew'd a Diſpoſition to pleaſe the King; but ſaid that for this end he had a Deſign to conſult the Cardinal *de Sanctorum quatuor*. *Caſſali* and *Knight* immediately went to that Cardinal to gain him over to their Intereſt, in which they found no great difficulty, or at leaſt he pretended to be entirely in the King's Intereſt. But after having examin'd the four Acts, he found ſo many material Flaws in them, eſpecially in the Commiſſion, that there was a neceſſity for drawing up others. But all this not ſufficing

to

to gain that time which the Pope wanted, and the Ambaſſadors continually preſſing him to ſign the Acts, he reſolv'd at laſt to ſign three of them, *viz.* the Commiſſion, the Decretal, and the Diſpenſation for the King to marry another Woman. Theſe Acts when ſent to *England*, were found to be of no Service. For the Commiſſion was dated in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, while the Pope was Priſoner there. The Decretal contain'd no Clauſe which cou'd hinder the Pope from revoking it; and the Diſpenſation was only conditional, in caſe that *Henry*'s former Marriage ſhou'd be declar'd void. Beſides there was a certain Clauſe in it which left the Pope at Liberty to revoke it whenever he thought fit, *viz.* That he *granted the Diſpenſation, as far as he might without offending God, notwithſtanding any Prohibitions of the Divine Law or other whatſoever declaring the contrary, as far as the Apoſtolical Power extended.* *A.* 1527.

The Pope amuſes the King, by ſending him inſignificant Bulls.

ALL this being liable to numerous Exceptions, *Henry* caus'd other Bulls to be demanded, but the Pope who was inclin'd to ſee the Iſſue of the *Naples* Expedition, before he came to any Determination, found a way to ſhuffle it off; and in order to gain time, only told *Caſſali* in ſecret, that the King wou'd do better to marry another Woman, and that it wou'd be more natural to pardon a Fault when committed, than to permit it. *Henry* not caring to follow this advice, which he look'd upon as a Snare to deliver him up to the Popes Diſcretion, ſent *Fox* and *Gardiner* * to him to ſolicit the Diſpatch of the new Bulls. When theſe two Envoys came to the Pope, *Lautrec*

Henry *demands other Bulls.*

Pope's ſly advice to him.

Gardiner *and* Fox *ſent to* Rome.

* *STEPHEN Gardiner* was at that time Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Secretary, and *Fox* was the King's Almoner. The former a Canoniſt, the latter a Divine.

H. VIII. was in full March towards the Kingdom of *Naples*; but on the other Hand, the Imperial Army was march'd out of *Rome* to ſtop his Progreſs, ſo that it was not doubted but a Battle wou'd quickly enſue between the two Armies. As it was not for the Pope's Intereſt to determine himſelf before the Iſſue of it, he made uſe of all the ſervile ſtratagems in nature to gain time. And at laſt being extremely preſs'd by the King's Envoys, he ſign'd a Bull which empower'd Cardinal *Wolſey* to give Judgment on the Affair of the Divorce, after taking the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or ſuch other Biſhop as he pleas'd for his Aſſociate.

Pope grants a new Commiſſion to Wolſey.

YET this Bull, as favourable as it was, was not thought ſufficient for two Reaſons. In the firſt place, there was no Clauſe in it to hinder the Pope from revoking it. In the ſecond place it was believ'd, that a Sentence paſs'd by a Judge who was manifeſtly devoted to the King, might be look'd upon as null. Conſequently the King thinking that the Pope had really a Deſign to gratify him, thought it convenient to take all the Precautions poſſible to hinder the Sentence when paſs'd from being conſtrued as a Sentence extorted. Therefore he deſir'd the Pope that he wou'd pleaſe to join another Cardinal in Commiſſion with Cardinal *Wolſey* in quality of Legate. But by this means he quite ſpoil'd his Affair, becauſe he furniſh'd the Pope with a plauſible pretence to prolong the Time, whereas if he had let *Wolſey* have been the ſole Judge of his Cauſe, it wou'd have very much embaraſs'd both the Emperor and the Pope. Juſt at the time of making this demand, *Lautrec* was actually beſieging *Naples*, and in a fair way to make himſelf Maſter of that City, and all the reſt of the Kingdom.

King deſires the Pope to join another Legate to Wolſey.

This

This made the Pope much more pliable, but as the King himſelf had given him opportunity to gain time, he did not neglect it. At the ſame time that he pretended a Reſolution to grant the King his Deſire, he found means to render that Favour of no Service to him, if it happen'd that the War ſhou'd take a different turn from what was expected, being nevertheleſs ready to confirm it if *France* had the Advantage. Therefore he ſign'd a Bull, which appointed the Cardinals, *Thomas Wolſey* and *Lawrence Campeggio*, * his Legates in *England*, to judge of the Affair of the Divorce, and he put the Decretal Bull, which diſſolv'd the King's Marriage with *Catherine*, into the Hands of *Campeggio*. Moreover he engag'd himſelf in Writing not to revoke the Legates Power. But before we go farther, 'tis proper to ſtop and juſt take an Obſervation of the Artifices he made uſe of to gain Time. The Commiſſion for *Wolſey* alone was ſign'd on the 13th of *April*. About a Month after, Cardinal *Campeggio* was declar'd Legate jointly with *Wolſey* in a Conſiſtory; but his Commiſſion was not diſpatch'd till the 6th of *June*. The Engagement not to recal the Legates was dated the 23d of *July*; the Decretal was not ſeal'd till the Month of *Auguſt*, with which *Campeggio* did not ſet out till *September*, nor arrive in *England* till *October*: So that when he ſet out it was at a Juncture wherein the Pope was in no more danger from *France*, but had every thing to fear from the Emperor; for the Siege of *Naples* was rais'd, and the *French* Army ruin'd. Therefore when *Campeggio* came away, *Clement* VII. had reſolv'd before hand to give no

A. 1527.

Another Commiſſion to Wolſey *and* Campeggio.

* *Campeggio* was Biſhop of *Salisbury*.

H. VIII. Satisfaction to the King, and to make an Accommodation with the Emperor. But ſince it was neceſſary in order to get the better Terms, to make *Charles* V. believe that he was in a ſtrict League with *France* and *England*, he made no ſcruple to give *Henry* all the Hopes poſſible, that the Affair of the Divorce wou'd terminate to his Satisfaction. For this reaſon he ſent *Campeggio* to *England* with that very Decretal in his Pocket which *Henry* ſo paſſionately deſir'd; but he gave him expreſs Inſtructions to ſpin out the matter as far as poſſible; to give no Sentence without poſitive Orders from him; and above all things, not to ſuffer the Decretal to go out of his Hands, and not ſo much as to ſhew it to any but to the King, and Cardinal *Wolſey*.

Pope's Inſtructions to Campeggio.

The Emperor's Miniſters produce a ſham Brief to delay the Affair.

WHILE *Campeggio* was on his Journey, the Emperor's Miniſters produc'd an Authentic Copy of a certain pretended Brief from *Julius* II. whereby that Pope confirm'd the Diſpenſation for *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catherine*, *notwithſtanding* Catherine's *former Marriage with* Arthur *had been conſummated*; whereas in the Bull of Diſpenſation, 'tis ſaid *notwithſtanding the Marriage*, &c. had *been celebrated* and perhaps *conſummated*. They pretended to demonſtrate from this Brief that *Julius* II. was not ſurpriz'd into it, becauſe he ſuppos'd that the former Marriage had been conſummated. But many reaſons manifeſtly ſhew'd the Forgery of this Brief. In the firſt place there was no notice taken of it in the Archives, or Offices of the Records. Secondly, as the Diſpenſation had been granted upon *Catherine*'s Petition, that Princeſs cou'd not alledge that her Marriage with *Arthur* had been conſummated, becauſe at the beginning of the Proceſs relating to the Divorce

Proofs of it.

Divorce ſhe had affirm'd the contrary upon Oath. In the third place, this Brief was dated the 26th of *December* 1503. Now as in all the Pope's Briefs the Year begins upon Chriſtmaſs-day, the 25th of *December*, it happen'd that according to this way of Dating Briefs, the 26th of *December* 1503, anſwer'd to the 26th of *December* 1502. according to the common Date, that is to ſay 10 Months before *Julius* IId's Exaltation to the Papal Chair. *A.* 1524.

AFTER the Army of *France* which beſieg'd *Naples* was diſpers'd, and when the Pope had reſolv'd upon an Accommodation with the Emperor, the Affair of the Divorce met with more and more Remoras every day. *Campeggio* did his Maſter very good Service by the ſeveral Artifices which he invented to retard the Proceedings, tho he always pretended to the King that he was intirely in his Intereſt; till at laſt he receiv'd an expreſs Order to burn the Decretal which he punctually obey'd. In ſhort, to avoid prolixity, the King ſuſpecting there was ſome Myſtery in theſe affected Delays ſent *Vannes* and *Bryan* to *Rome*, to find out the meaning of it. Theſe two Envoys after having often ſifted, ſolicited, and even threaten'd the Pope, wrote at length to the King that it was in vain for him to expect any good from the Court of *Rome*; which was the reaſon that the King reſolv'd at laſt to have Judgment given on the Affair in *England* by the two Legates, who met on the 31ſt of *May* by virtue of the King's Licence. *Wolſey*, tho the oldeſt Cardinal, gave the Precedency to *Campeggio*; who, according to the Orders he had receiv'd from the Pope, made it his whole Study to ſpin out the Affair to a great Length. In the firſt Seſſion the King and Queen were ſummon'd

The Pope orders the Decretal to be burnt.

The King ſends two more Envoys to Rome.

H. VIII. ſummon'd to appear before the Legates on the 18th of *June*. So that here was already a Delay of 18 Days, tho the Parties were both at *London*, or in ſome of the Royal Palaces in the Neighbourhood.

Q. Catherine *proteſts againſt the Legates.*

In the mean time the Queen having excepted againſt the two Legates, her Proteſt was rejected, and that occaſion'd a Delay of four days more. On the 21ſt, the King and Queen appear'd, and the Queen was again ſummon'd for the 25th, but inſtead of appearing, ſhe ſent an Appeal to the Legates againſt their Proceedings; which Appeal not being admitted, ſhe was pronounc'd *Contumax*, but had farther time given her to the 28th, upon which day the Legates began the Suit, and heard Witneſſes. But by reaſon of certain Holidays obſerv'd at *Rome*, the Court adjourned to the 12th of *July*, and till then the Legates did not renew the Proceſs, which they continued to the 14th, 17th, and 21ſt. And finally, on the 23d, when it was expected that they wou'd have pronounc'd Sentence, *Campeggio* adjourned the Court to the 21ſt of *October*, upon Account of the great Holidays which wou'd not be over at *Rome* till that Day. From hence 'tis plain, that this Cardinal improv'd all Opportunities to do his Maſter good Service; but no body knows what to think of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who ſo far yielded to the Artifices of his Collegue, as to abuſe a Maſter who had heap'd ſo many Favours on him: While the Suit was carrying on in *England*, the Pope recev'd the News that his Treaty with the Emperor had been concluded at *Barcelona*. And immediately before the ſame was publiſh'd, he granted an Avocation of the Proceſs to *Rome*, and ſent away an Expreſs to inform the Legates of it. In the Bull of Avocation

Is pronounc'd Contumax.

The Pope Removes the Cauſe to Rome.

Henry

Henry was cited to appear at *Rome* in 40 Days, with a Denunciation of divers Cenſures if he did not obey. But afterwards the Pope diſown'd thoſe Cenſures and made the King ſatisfaction. Thus was *Henry* amus'd for two whole Years; and after having entertain'd Hopes which he thought well grounded, of ſucceeding in his Deſign, he ſaw himſelf farther as it were from his Journey's end than when he firſt ſet out. The Artifices which the Pope made uſe of were ſo manifeſt that it wou'd only be Loſs of Time to inſiſt upon the particular Inſtances. He wanted to recover *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of *Modena* and *Reggio*, to reunite *Ferrara* to the Church, to re-eſtabliſh the Family of *Medicis* in the Government of *Florence*, and Duke *Sforza* at *Milan*. But all this cou'd not be done without the Emperor's Aſſiſtance: Even tho *France* had been victorious, ſhe cou'd not have ſerv'd the Pope in any thing like it; ſo that 'twas very happy for him that the Emperor got the upper Hand in *Italy*, and thereby found himſelf in a fair way to obtain what he wiſh'd, to which the Affair of *Henry* VIIIth's Divorce was not unſerviceable. No wonder therefore that he turn'd to that ſide which was moſt favourable to him. As to the main Point of the Divorce, I mean the Right of the Parties in Religion and Conſcience, that was not what troubled his Head, becauſe he only had a View to his own private Intereſts; ſo that the Reaſons alledg'd on both ſides were all to no purpoſe, and only ſerv'd to gain the Pope time, which it was his Intereſt to prolong.

A. 1527. *Cites* Henry *thither under certain Menaces which he afterwards revokes.*

HENRY did not think proper to obey the Summons, nor was the Pope in great haſte to puſh on the Affair, being pleaſed to find that

H. VIII. he had brought it to ſuch a Paſs, that nothing cou'd be done in it without him, and that he had ſatisfy'd the Emperor.

Henry *takes advice of* Cranmer.

SOMETIME after, *Henry* hearing of *Thomas Cranmer* a Clergyman of profound Knowledge and Judgment, receiv'd advice from him, which was ſo agreeable that he reſolv'd to purſue it: His Propoſal was to conſult the Univerſities, and the moſt celebrated Divines of *Europe*, upon the Affair of the Divorce; which, ſaid *Cranmer*, wou'd be attended with a great Advantage: for if the Learned and the Univerſities determin'd that the Diſpenſation of *Julius* II. was ſufficient, the King's Conſcience wou'd be thereby quieted; but if on the contrary, the Opinions of the Univerſities were againſt the Diſpenſation, the Pope wou'd never venture to give any Deciſion contrary to Opinions ſo generally receiv'd and approv'd.

Campeggio *returns to* Rome.

THE Adjournment of the Cauſe of the Divorce to *Rome* was immediately follow'd by Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Diſgrace, of which I intend to treat in an Article by it ſelf. At the ſame time *Campeggio* return'd to *Rome*, very glad that he got off with a whole Skin, after he had receiv'd ſome Mortification *.

THE Treaty of *Cambray* betwixt the Emperor and *France* being concluded on the 5th

* WHAT this was we learn from Lord *Herbert*, who tells us, that when he went aboard his Ship, the Cuſtom-houſe Officers ranſack'd all his Coffers, Bags and Papers, on pretence of ſearching for Money and Letters which he carry'd from *England* to *Rome*, but with real hopes of recovering that Decretal Bull which the King ſo much long'd for, and of finding ſome Love Letters which had paſs'd betwixt K. *Henry* and *Anne* of *Bolleyn*; and that *Campeggio* complain'd of it to the King, threatning he wou'd not proceed in his Voyage till he had a Reparation; but none was made him.

of

of *Auguſt* 1529 the Children of *France* were ſet at Liberty in the Year following. The Emperor repairing afterwards to *Bologna*, there ſettled the Affairs of *Italy*. *Francis Sforza* was re-eſtabliſh'd at *Milan*, and the Family of *Medicis* acquir'd the Sovereignty of *Florence*. Conſequently *Henry* found himſelf all at once depriv'd of the Aſſiſtance of *France*, and of the Hopes of any Opportunity in his Power to give the Emperor a Diverſion in *Italy*. He did not doubt but the Pope wou'd at laſt give Sentence againſt him, and commit the Execution of it to the Emperor; and in the mean time he had neither Friends nor Allies. By good Luck for him, the Troubles in *Germany* upon the ſcore of Religion, and the Preparations of the *Turks* againſt *Hungary*, hinder'd the Emperor from thinking of *England*. For this reaſon alſo the Pope was afraid to precipitate his Sentence, leſt he ſhou'd time it ill; and therefore he ſtill endeavour'd to amuſe *Henry*, with hopes that the Affair of the Divorce wou'd terminate in his Favour. 'Twas this that induc'd *Henry* to make one Effort more, by ſending Ambaſſadors to the Pope and the Emperor, who were then together at *Bologna*. The Pope indeed ſhew'd a Diſpoſition to ſatisfy him; but the Emperor ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it, and ſaid, that he wou'd never abandon the Queen his Aunt.

A. 1529.

Sforza *eſtabliſh'd at* Milan, *and the Houſe of* Medicis *at* Florence.

Henry *ſends Ambaſſadors to the Pope and Emperor.*

DURING this, the moſt celebrated Univerſities of *Europe*, as well as thoſe of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, were conſulted by the King's Order; and almoſt every one decided in his Favour. But the Pope and the Emperor did not intend to conform to their Deciſions. Mean while *Henry*, who had reſolv'd to get that Satisfaction in his own Dominions which he cou'd not

Univerſities of Europe *decide in his Favour.*

H. VIII. not obtain at *Rome*, propos'd to make great Uſe of the Deciſions of the Learned, in order to convince his Subjects of the Juſtice of his Divorce. The Reaſons that had engag'd him to make Application for it firſt of all to the Pope, were two: 1. His Prepoſſeſſion in favour of the Head of the Church. 2. His Fear leſt his being embroil'd with the Pope ſhou'd involve him in Troubles, by reaſon of the Prejudices of the common People, and particularly of the Clergy and Monks, as happen'd to *Henry* II. and *John*. But the artful Conduct of *Clement* VII. obliging him to take other meaſures, he was glad to find that the People of *England* in his time had not near ſo much Eſteem and Veneration for the Pope as their Anceſtors had. *Wickliff*'s Doctrine was not yet entirely ſuppreſſed in *England*, while on the other hand the Books of *Luther* and other Reformers had open'd the Eyes of abundance of People. As ſoon as they found the King ready to fall out with the Pope, it made many the bolder to propagate novel Opinions, eſpecially with regard to the Papal Power. Conſequently the King was not a little pleas'd to find ſo general a Diſpoſition among his Subjects, to ſupport him in that entire Rupture which he foreſaw wou'd enſue with *Rome*. For this reaſon therefore, when he cou'd depend no longer on the Pope, he reſolv'd to apply to his Parliament and the Clergy of *England* for that Remedy which he had in vain expected from abroad. But that the Pope might have no reaſon to complain that they did not let him know what they intended to do in *England*, the King caus'd the Great Men of the Realm to write a very ſharp Letter to him, wherein they told him that the King's Cauſe was their own, and that if he refus'd

Henry's Reaſons for applying to the Pope for his Divorce.

The Engliſh *not ſuch Bigots to Popery as their Anceſtors.*

refus'd the King Satisfaction any longer, they themſelves knew where to find that Remedy which they had in vain expected from *Rome*. The Pope return'd them a very moderate Anſwer, and actually inſinuated to *Caſſali* that there was a poſſibility of accommodating this Affair by a Licence which he wou'd grant to the King to have two Wives. But *Henry* was ſo much upon his Guard againſt the Pope's Complaiſance, that he wou'd not hearken to the Expedient. And fearing leſt the Pope, who was entirely manag'd by the Emperor, wou'd fulminate an Excommunication againſt him, or elſe lay his Kingdom under an Interdict, he iſſued a Proclamation, forbidding the receiving of any Bull from the Pope which was prejudicial to the Rights of the Crown. And when that was done, he publiſh'd his Reaſons for demanding the Divorce, that he might meet with the leſs Oppoſition to his Deſign in Parliament. The Pope and the Emperor being diſguſted with each other, and the Marriage propos'd betwixt the Duke of *Orleans* and *Catherine de Medicis*, being too honourable and advantageous an Offer for him to refuſe, there was a very great probability that it wou'd not be long ere *Clement* VII. wou'd ſtrictly unite with *France*. *Henry* thinking this a very lucky Juncture, aſſembled the Parliament, and acquainted them of his Deſign to cauſe his Marriage to be diſſolv'd, and the Reaſons why. Afterwards he caus'd the ſame Reſolution to be communicated to the Clergy in Convocation, who decided that the King's Marriage was contrary to the Law of God. And for the preſent this was all the King deſir'd.

A. 1529.

The Engliſh *Nobility's Letter to the Pope, and his Anſwer, which* Henry *rejects.*

And puts forth a Proclamation againſt the Pope's Bulls &c. *with his Reaſons for the Divorce.*

Miſunderſtanding betwixt the Pope and the Emperor.

Henry *imparts his Intentions about the Divorce, to the Parliament and Convocation.*

NOT

H. VIII. Not many Days after this, the whole Body of the Clergy was charg'd with having violated the Statutes of the *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*, by owning the Legantine Authority which Cardinel *Woolſey* had aſſum'd to himſelf, without any authentick Permiſſion from the King. As *Wolſey* had been condemn'd upon the ſame Score, the Clergy receiv'd the like Sentence, by which all their Livings were forfeited to the King. At another time, they wou'd not have been ſo treated with Impunity, and Excommunications wou'd not have been ſpar'd. But at this Juncture, the Clergy had no Power upon Earth to ſtand by them: For on the one hand, the King was embroil'd with the Pope, and had forbid the Importation of his Bulls into the Kingdom: and on the other hand, the Laity were in no manner of Diſpoſition to ſupport the Intereſts of the Clergy, with whom they were diſguſted, nor to receive any Orders from the Pope, in caſe he had been pleas'd to have interpos'd in the Affair. So that the Province of *Canterbury* aſſembled in Synod or Convocation, reſolv'd to offer the King a Preſent of 100000 *l. Sterling*, to ſave their Revenues. In purſuance of this Reſolution, ſome of that Body were order'd to draw up an Act in form of Letters Patent, whereby the Clergy * gave the King the ſaid Sum of 100000 *l.* In the firſt place, becauſe of his great Merit: Secondly, as a Teſtimony of the grateful Senſe

Clergy ſued in a Præmunire.

Give the King 100000 l.

* The Lord *Herbert* and Dr. *Burnet* ſay, that the Convocation reſolv'd to addreſs the King by way of Petition, that he wou'd pleaſe to accept this Sum. But ſince the publication of this Piece, which we find printed p. 413. of this XIVth Vol. of the *Fœdera*, one may venture to call it not a Petition, but a publick Act of the Clergy in form of Letters Patent.

they

they had of the Advantages which he had procur'd for the Church, by his Arms and Pen. Thirdly, becauſe of his Zeal againſt the *Lutherans* who aim'd at the Ruin of the Church of *England*, of which the Clergy own'd him to be Protector and Supreme Head. Fourthly and laſtly, in hopes that the King wou'd pleaſe to grant the Clergy a Pardon for all the Faults they had committed, contrary to the Statutes of Proviſors and Præmunire. When this Act was read in the Aſſembly, it was very much oppos'd with reſpect to the Clauſe which eſtabliſh'd the King's Title of *Supreme Head of the Church of* England. But the King having ſignify'd to the Convocation, that he wou'd reject the ſaid Act if that Clauſe was taken out of it, they were forc'd to comply. The Convocation of the Province of *York* imitated that of *Canterbury*, in making the like Act, whereby they gave the King about 19000 *l. Sterling*, and were fain to add the ſame Clauſe to it with reſpect to the King's Supremacy. Thus *Henry* VIII. obtain'd, or rather extorted from the Church of *England* the Acknowledgment of his Supremacy, of which he afterwards made great Uſe. The King being ſatisfy'd, granted an Amneſty firſt to the Clergy, and afterwards one of the ſame Nature to the Laity; for there was ſcarce a Man in the Kingdom but had been guilty of the pretended Crime of acknowledging the Legate's Authority. As to the Monaſteries, they were forc'd to compound with the King, in order to obtain the Pardon which they as much wanted as others. The Populace, far from making any Diſturbance in favour of the Clergy and the Monks, as they did formerly, expreſs'd a Joy on the contrary to ſee them humbled; and the Pope

A. 1529.

And 19000 *l. more, and own the King's Supremacy.*

King grants a General Pardon.

The People at the Diſgrace of the Clergy.

H. VIII. being afraid to resent it at such a juncture, resolv'd to dissemble his Indignation.

Henry trys in vain to get the Queen's Consent to the Divorce.

MEAN time *Henry* who wish'd to see an End put to the Affair of his Divorce, if possible without any Noise, made his last Efforts to oblige the Queen to consent to it, but all was to no purpose. She still insisted that she was his lawful Wife, and so would abide till she was separated from him by a Decree from the Pope.

Banishes her into the Country.

Being so fix'd in her Resolution the King took his Leave of her on the 14th of *July* 1531. after having order'd one of his Royal Palaces for her Residence *; and it does not appear that he ever saw more.

THEY who had embrac'd the Reformation looking upon the Quarrel betwixt the King and Pope as a Door for introducing the new Religion into the Kingdom, took occasion from thence to publish their Sentiments with the more Liberty. But the King soon check'd their audaciousness, by putting two or three of the boldest of them to Death †. For he had not chang'd his former Sentiments in the point of Doctrine; and tho he began to think that Religion might very well subsist without the Papal Power, yet he was cautious of shewing so much regard for the Protestants as shou'd give cause to charge him with a Design to destroy the antient Religion in his Kingdom.

Persecutes the Protestants, of whom 3 are burnt.

*SHE went first to *Moor*, then to *East Hampstead* and lastly to *Ampthil*.

† THO the King had shook off the Pope's Yoke, he order'd the Laws against Hereticks to be severely put in Execution; pursuant to which three Protestants were burnt at the Stake, *viz.* *Bilney* and *Bayfield*, who suffer'd this Year, and *Baynam* in *April* following. *Bilney* was executed at *Norwich*, and *Bayfield* and *Baynam* in *Smithfield*, *London*.

THI

THE Parliament being reaſſembled in the beginning of the Year 1532, preſented an Addreſs to the King, praying he wou'd give them Leave to ſet about the Reformation of certain Abuſes which were crept into the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities. 'Twas the King himſelf who by his Friends in the Houſe influenc'd the Parliament to preſent ſuch Addreſs to him. He was afraid of meeting with great oppoſition from the Clergy, as well upon account of his Divorce as his Supremacy, for he knew that the Majority of them were ſtrongly attach'd to the Pope. Therefore he had a mind to let them ſee how much they wou'd need his Protection if they ſhou'd offer to oppoſe his Deſign: And that was the only View he had in this proceeding. But that the Clergy might not be frighten'd, he contented himſelf with the Regulation of ſome ſmall Abuſes; and at the ſame time, to make them Amends, got the Parliament to paſs an Act to aboliſh the Annates *, which were a great Burden to the Church of *England*, and to fix the Price of the Bulls for Biſhopricks. By this Act it was enacted, that if the Pope refus'd to grant Bulls, the Biſhops ſhou'd be eſtabliſh'd in their Sees by other methods. But as the King did not yet deſpair of an Accommodation with the Pope, he contriv'd it ſo that the Parliament put

A. 1532.

Parliament addreſs the King about the Clergy's Immunities.

Act for aboliſhing the Annates.

* THESE Annates were ſo call'd, becauſe they were the entire Revenues of one Year, in the nature of Firſt Fruits, which every Biſhop and Clergyman paid to the Pope, at his firſt Entrance into his Living. *Godwin de Præſulibus Anglia* has given the Rate of every Biſhoprick in the King's Books, and the Sum they were tax'd at for Firſt Fruits to the Pope, which may not improperly be inſerted here.

Bishopricks and their Rate.	In the King's Book. l.	s.	d.	In the Pope's Book. l.	s.	d.
Canterbury	2816	17	9	2250	0	0
and us'd to pay for				the Pall 1125	0	0
London	1119	8	4	675	0	0
Wincheſter	2491	9	8½	4800	0	0
Ely	2134	18	5¾	2800	0	0
Lincoln	894	18	1½	2000	0	0
Coventry and *Litchfield*	559	17	7¾	680	0	0
Salisbury	1385	5	0	1125	0	0
Bath and *Wells*	533	1	3	172	0	0
Exeter	500	0	0	2400	0	0
Norwich	899	8	7½	2000	0	0
Worceſter	1049	17	3¾	450	0	0
Hereford	768	10	10¾	405	0	0
Chicheſter	677	1	3	133	4	0
Rocheſter	385	3	6	342	10	0
St. David's	426	1	10½	337	10	0
Landaff	154	14	1	157	10	0
Bangor	132	16	4½	28	7	0
St. Aſaph	131	16	4½	28	7	0
York	1609	19	7	4000	0	0
paid for				the Pall 2000	0	0
Durham	1821	1	5	2025	0	0
Carliſle	531	4	11½	225	0	0
Total	21023	12	6½	30289	8	0

And as every inferior Clergyman did alſo pay a full Year's Revenue of his Benefice when he firſt enter'd upon it, one may venture to conclude, that there was three times more Griſt brought to the Pope's Mill from all the Livings in *England* than from the Biſhopricks. Dr. *Burnet* obſerves, that ſince the beginning of the Reign of *Henry* VII. to this time 800000 Ducats had been carry'd out of *England* to *Rome* on this very account, and the Ducats were then computed at about 8 *s.*

put

put it into his Power to aboliſh the Act if he thought fit. The Pope complain'd of this Statute, but the King's Miniſters told him he need not be ſo uneaſy, becauſe there was a Remedy ſtill left. *A.* 1528.

AFTER the paſſing of this Act, *Thomas More* the High Chancellor reſign'd his Office, and the great Seal was given to *Thomas Audley*. *Clement* VII. perceiving what a Turn things had taken in *England*, was very much embaraſs'd. *Henry*, by ſuppreſſing the Annates, had made him ſenſible that this was but a Fleabite to what he might be capable of doing afterwards, and that he was in a condition to puſh things ſtill farther. On the other hand, the Emperor ſeverely threaten'd him if he ſatisfy'd the King of *England* in the Affair of the Divorce, and was actually prepar'd to have taken *Florence* from the Houſe of *Medicis*, with the ſame Eaſe as he had put them in poſſeſſion. Therefore the Pope, as he ſaid himſelf, was in a manner ground betwixt two, there being great Danger that *England* wou'd fall off from the Church, and the State of *Florence* from the Pope's Family. In this Confuſion he ſtuck for a while, not knowing which way to determine himſelf. But at length his private Intereſt prevailing, he declar'd to the Miniſters of *England*, that he cou'd no longer delay ſummoning the King, to the end that he might be able to judge of the Queen's Appeal. Upon this *Karne* was ſent to *Rome* with the new Title of *Excuſator*, to give the King's reaſons why he cou'd not appear. Nevertheleſs he was ſummon'd to appear by his Proxy after the Holidays, which were to end on the 1ſt of *October*. *Henry* having conſulted ſeveral Univerſities, proteſted againſt this Citation, according as they had determin'd

Thomas Audley *made Lord Keeper.*

Infallibility at a great Nonplus.

But he reſolves to cite King Henry *to* Rome *who ſends an* Excuſator.

H. VIII. it, and yet for all this, he was again cited upon the 4th of *October*. But as the Pope was about going to confer with the Emperor at *Bologna* he promis'd that nothing shou'd be done in the Affair of the Divorce till his Return.

Conferences betwixt the Pope and the Emperor. And betwixt the Kings of England *and* France.

IN *October* that same Year, *Francis* I. and *Henry* had a Conference in *Picardy*; and some say that as soon as *Henry* return'd from this Interview, he privately marry'd *Anne* of *Bolleyn* at *Calais*, but 'tis more probable that the Marriage was not solemniz'd till *January* following.

Henry *marrys* Anne *of* Bolleyn.

THE Parliament meeting again in *February* 1533, pass'd an Act to prohibit the carrying of Appeals to *Rome*. And not long after *Thomas Cranmer* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the room of *Warham* who dy'd the Year before.

Cranmer *made Archbishop of* Canterbury.

ABOUT the same time *Henry* publish'd his Marriage with *Anne* of *Bolleyn*, tho his former Marriage was not yet dissolv'd; but there was a Necessity for his making it known, because the new Queen was big with Child.

Henry *reveals his Marriage.*

CRANMER had no sooner taken possession of his new Dignity, but he summon'd Queen *Catherine* to appear before him on the 20th of *May**, and because she refus'd Obedience he issued a Sentence on the 23d of that Month, declaring the King's former Marriage null and void: and some days after this he issued another confirming his second Marriage with *Anne* of *Bolleyn*, who was afterwards crown'd upon the first of *June*. It cannot be

Cranmer *summons* Queen Catherine, *declares her Marriage void and confirms* Anne *of* Bolleyn's.

* SHE was summon'd to appear at *Dunstable* which was near *Ampthil*, her Residence, where She lived about three Years after, but dy'd at *Kimbolton*, in the County of *Huntington*.

deny'd

deny'd but there was ſome irregularity in the King's Conduct; for ſince he had a mind to have his former Marriage made void in Law, one wou'd have thought he ſhou'd have ſtaid till this had been done before he marry'd a ſecond time. As ſoon as the former Marriage was made void, the King ſent notice of it to *Catherine*, and endeavour'd to perſuade her to ſubmit to the Archbiſhop's Sentence, but his Efforts were in vain. From that time it was order'd that her only Title ſhou'd be Princeſs Dowager of *Wales* *. When the Pope was inform'd of what had paſs'd in *England*, he repeal'd the two Sentences of the Archbiſhip of *Canterbury*, and threaten'd the King with Excommunication if by ſuch a time he did not reſtore all things *in integrum*, as they were before the two Sentences of the Archbiſhop; but the King and the Archbiſhop appeal'd from thence to the next General Council.

A. 1533.

Remark on it.

Catherine's *Inflexibility.*

Her Title.

Pope annulls Cranmer's *Sentences, and threatens the King with Excom. who thereupon appeals to a General Council.*

THE Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans* with *Catherine de Medicis* being at laſt agreed on, the Pope and the King of *France* went to *Marſeilles*, where the *Nuptials* were conſummated, but that was not all they went thither for. The Pope wanted to break off *Francis* from the Intereſts of the King of *England*, while it was the View of *Francis* to induce the Pope to give Satisfaction to *Henry*, and then he propos'd to join with both againſt the Emperor in order to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*. 'Twas with this View that he mightily preſs'd *Henry* to ſend ſome Perſon in whom he cou'd confide to *Marſeilles*, and upon his earneſt Inſtances *Henry* made choice of the Duke of *Norfolk*;

Marriage of the D. of Orleans *and* Catherine de Medicis.

Interview betwixt the Pope and French *King at* Marſeilles.

Henry *orders the Duke of* Norfolk *thither, and countermands him, ſending, others in his room.*

* BUT Dr. *Burnet* ſays, ſhe wou'd ſuffer none to ſerve about her that did not treat her as Queen.

H. VIII. but being inform'd during this of the Sentence issued at *Rome* against him, he recall'd his Ambassador, who was already set out, and sent *Gardiner*, *Bryan* and *Bonner* to *Marseilles*.

The Pope promises to give Henry *Satisfaction.*

In the Interview which *Francis* had with the Pope, he got him to promise that he wou'd give *Henry* Satisfaction; but *Bonner* had like to have spoil'd all, by informing the Pope in person of the Appeal made by the King and the Archbishop from his Sentence to the next general Council. As soon as *Francis* was return'd to *Paris*, he sent *John de Bellay*, Bishop of that City into *England*, to acquaint the King of the Expedients that had been contriv'd to accommodate the Affair of the Divorce to his Satisfaction. *Henry* approving of the Proposal, the Bishop of *Paris* set out Post, tho it was in the Month of *December*, to go and acquaint the Pope of it. The only Difficulty which stuck with *Clement* VII. was, that he cou'd not entirely depend upon the King of *England*'s bare Word, therefore he desir'd an Engagement from him in Writing; whereupon a Courier was quickly dispatch'd to *England*, and a certain Time fix'd for his Return; the Pope protesting that if the Courier did not come back within that Term he wou'd pronounce Sentence against *Henry*: For he had trifled with *Henry* so many Years, that he expected to be paid in his own Coin.

Henry accepts of the Expedients,

But the Pope is loth to trust him without an Engagement under his Hand,

As soon as the Emperor's Ministers were inform'd of the Pope's Engagement, they press'd him Day and Night to revoke it, and spar'd no Menaces to oblige him to it, but he did not dare to do it; and all that they cou'd get him to consent to was, that if the King of *England*'s Answer did not arrive by the Time fix'd he wou'd pronounce Sentence against him.

The

The Courier not arriving on the Day expected, the Emperor's Miniſters were ſo importunate with the timorous Pontiff, and threaten'd him ſo hard, that tho the Biſhop of *Paris* only beg'd for a Delay of 6 Days longer, he cou'd not obtain it: And conſequently the Pope publiſh'd his Sentence confirming the Lawfulneſs of *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catherine*, and enjoyning *Henry* to take his firſt Wife again, under grievous Penalties. Two days after this, the Courier came with the King's Engagements; but he was too late, and the Pope cou'd never be prevail'd on to revoke his Sentence; whereas if the Courier had arriv'd but two Days ſooner, the Pope, as he had promis'd the King of *France*, wou'd have given a Sentence the very contrary; ſo that the validity or invalidity of *Henry* VIIIth's firſt Marriage depended only upon the Diligence of a Courier. *A.* 1528. *And becauſe the Courier did not bring it by ſuch a time was prevail'd on by the Emperor's Miniſters to paſs Sentence againſt* Henry, *and refuſes to revoke it.*

THE moſt material Acts of theſe ſix Years relating to the Affair of the Divorce are as follow.

1. A BULL which empowers Cardinal *Wolſey* to judge definitively of the Affair of *Henry* VIIIth's Divorce; dated at *Viterbo* in the Ides of *April*, and the 5th Year of the Pontificate of Pope *Clement* VII. *A. D.* 1528. *Bull appointing* Wolſey *Judge of* Henry's *Divorce.*

THIS is the Bull which I ſaid was granted in 1528, while *Lautrec* was marching to *Naples*. Theſe are ſome Extracts of it. 237.

Clemens Epiſcopus, &c.

Sanè ad aures noſtras, ex plurimorum fide dignorum relatione, frequenter perlatum eſt de validitate illius matrimonii, quod chariſſimus in Chriſto filius Henricus, Angliæ *Rex illuſtris, cum* Catharina *Regina, Sedis Apoſtolicæ diſpenſatione pretensâ, contraxiſſe & conſummaſſe dignoſcitur, ſubortam in*

partibus

H. VIII. *partibus illis quæſtionem, quæ licet in publicum Eccleſiæ judicium deducta hactenus non fuerit,* &c.

i.e. THE Relation of very many Perſons of undoubted Credit hath reach'd our Ears, concerning the Validity of that Marriage, which our moſt dear Son in Chriſt *Henry*, the illuſtrious King of *England* (a Diſpenſation from the Apoſtolic See being firſt had) was known to have contracted and conſummated with Queen *Catherine*, from whence in thoſe Parts a Controverſy hath ariſen, which hath not yet been try'd in any publick Court of Eccleſiaſtical Judicature, *&c.*

'TIS obſervable, that in this Bull there is no mention either of *Motu Proprio*, or of any Petition preſented to the Pope; but that it was only granted upon publick Fame.

Circumſpectioni tuæ, adjuncto tibi venerabili fratre noſtro Archiepiſcopo Canterburienſi, totius Angliæ Primate, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ legato nato, ſeu alio quocunque illius Regni Epiſcopo, dictumque matrimonium, ſi ab alterutrâ parte petatur, prout animo conſcientiæque tuæ juris ratio perſuaſerit, validum, juſtum, & legitimum, ac firmum eſſe: Aut è contra, invalidum, injuſtum, illegitimum, nullumque fuiſſe & eſſe; pro valido, juſto, legitimo ac firmo, aut è contra, invalido, injuſto, & illegitimo, nulloque haberi & deberi, definiendum, ſententiandum & decernendum.

Denique tam Henrico Regi, quam Catharinæ Reginæ, ad alia vota commigrandi licentiam in Domino, facultatem tribuendum.

——*Tibi quoque tam prolem ex primo matrimonio ſuſceptam, ſi id ita expedire viſum fuerit, quam ex ſecundo matrimonio ſuſcipiendam, legitimam decernendi.*

Non

Non obſtantibus Conciliis Generalibus, Apoſtolicis Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus editis, cæteriſque Contrariis quibuſcunque. A. 1529.

i. e. 'WE give plenary Authority to your 'Eminency, jointly with our moſt Reverend 'Brother the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate 'of all *England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick 'See, or any other Biſhop of that Kingdom 'whatſoever;——That you ſhall, if by either 'Party required, decide, determine, and finally ſentence the ſaid Marriage to be valid, 'juſt, lawful and firm; or on the other ſide, 'invalid, unjuſt, unlawful and null; and ſo to 'be held and accounted, according as you ſhall 'think moſt juſt, according to the Laws of Reaſon, and the Dictates of your own Conſciences.

'LASTLY, That you grant a Faculty and 'Licence in the Lord to the aforeſaid King '*Henry* and Queen *Catherine* to marry again:

'AND that if it ſhall to you ſeem convenient, 'you do pronounce the Children by the firſt 'Marriage, as well as by the ſecond, Legitimate:

'ANY General Councils, Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, and Ordinances whatſoever, to the 'contrary notwithſtanding.'

2. AN Atteſtation by a Writer of the Briefs, and one of the Pope's Secretaries, that in the Apoſtolical Letters in form of Briefs, the Year begins at *Chriſtmas*; but that in the Bulls, or Letters ſeal'd with the Leaden Seal, it begins at the Feaſt of the Annunciation of the *Virgin Mary*, (commonly call'd *Lady Day*.) This Atteſtation is dated at *Rome*, *May* 31, 1529. *Atteſtation of the different Date of the Pope's Letters and Briefs.* 294.

3. THE

H. VIII.

3. The King's Letters Patent, permitting the two Legates to execute their Commission. Dated at *Windsor-Castle*, *May* 30, 1529.

Henry's Licence to the two Legates, 295.

4. An Attestation of Cardinal *Augustin*, with the Title of S. *Cyriacus*, that among all the secret Collections of *Julius* IId's Briefs, there are but two relating to *Henry* VIIIth's Marriage, *viz.* one of *July* 6, 1504. and another of *Feb.* 22, 1505. This Attestation is sign'd *May* 31, 1529. at *Rome.*

Briefs of Pope Julius, *relating to* Henry's *Marriage,* 296.

5. The Citation of Q. *Catherine* to appear before the Legates, the 18th and the 26th of *June.*

Citation of Queen Catherine. 299.

And an Attestation from the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, that he has summoned the Queen according to the Order of the Legates.

6. The Act of Eight Bishops, certifying that the King having communicated a Paper to them containing the Reasons of his Scruples about his Marriage, they gave their Opinion for the absolute Necessity of consulting the Pope. Dated *July* 1, 1529.

8 Bishops Advice to the King, 301.

7. *CLEMENT* VIIth's Brief to the King, in which he declares that he intended no Censures against the King's Person in the Avocation of the Cause of the Divorce; and that if there are any, they must be imputed to the Judge or Commissary. Dated *Aug.* 29, 1529, at *Rome.*

Pope's Brief to Henry *about the Avocation of the Affair of the Divorce.* 346.

8. A Certificate that in the Briefs granted under the Seal of the Fisher, the Year begins at *Christmas.* 'Tis dated *Dec.* 5, 1529.

Computation of Time. 353, 355.

9. Another from the Official of *Liege*, about the Date of the Briefs. Dated *Jan.* 21, 1530.

10. Extract of an old Manuscript on *Vellum*, taken by *James de Lausanne*, *May* 21, 1530.

Old Manuscript. 393.

1530. at K. *Henry*'s Palace, near *Charing Croſs*. *A.* 1530.
It has theſe Clauſes.

Jacobus de Lauſanna ſuper quartum ſententiarum, continens 161 Quæſtiones.

Secunda concluſio principalis in corpore 116 Quæſtionis, de Diſpenſatione Papæ prohibita circa hoc. Papa in primo gradu affinitatis ſicut conſanguinitatis, non poteſt diſpenſare, cum ſit contra jus Naturale & Divinum, quod uxoribus parentum exhiberemus reverentiam ſicut parentibus etiam noſtris. Item in linea tranſumali in primo gradu, prohibetur, conſanguinitas & affinitas, jure Divino & Naturali, nec Papa poteſt diſpenſare.

Unde etiam, tempore Legis Moſ. non licebat contrahere cum uxore fratris, niſi ad ſuſcitandum ſemen Fratris mortui. Nec modo licet Papæ ſuper hoc diſpenſare, quod illa Diſpenſatio facta fuit à Deo, ſicut pluralitas uxorum. In aliis gradibus poteſt diſpenſare, ut ſcriptum comperi & inveni.

i. e. 'James de Lauſanne, upon the fourth 'Chapter of Opinions, containing 161 Queſ-'tions.

'The ſecond principal Concluſion in the bo-'dy of the 116th Queſtion concerning the Illega-'lity of the Pope's Diſpenſation in this matter. 'The Pope cannot grant a Diſpenſation in the 'firſt degree of Affinity and Conſanguinity, 'becauſe 'tis againſt the Law of Nature and 'the Divine Law that we ſhou'd pay the 'ſame Reſpect to the Wives of our Kindred, 'as to our Kindred themſelves; alſo in the col-'lateral Line in the firſt Degree, Conſangui-'nity and Affinity are prohibited by the di-'vine Law, and the Law natural, nor can the 'Pope grant a Diſpenſation.

H. VIII. 'FROM whence also in the time of the Mosaic Dispensation, it was not lawful to 'marry a Brother's Wife, except for the sake 'of raising Seed to such Brother dying without Issue. Nor is it now lawful for the 'Pope to dispense with it, because that Dispensation was granted from God, as was a 'plurality of Wives. But in other degrees he 'may dispense as I have found it written.

Decisions of the Universities on the King's Marriage. 391 *to* 400.

II. THE Decisions of several Universities concerning the Marriage of *Henry* VIII. from *May* to *September* 1530.

THEY are all of the same strain with the first, from the University of *Angiers*, which has this Clause.

DEFINIMUS,

Neque Divino neque Naturali Juri permitti Homini Christiano, etiam cum sedis Apostolicæ Auctoritate seu Dispensatione, super hoc adhibitâ, Relictam Fratris, *qui etiam sine Liberis post consummatum matrimonium decesserit, uxorem accipere vel habere.*

i. e. WE decide,

'THAT 'tis not lawful for any Christian, either by the Divine Law or that of Nature, 'even tho authoris'd by a Dispensation from 'the Apostolick See, to marry or take unto his 'Bed the Widow of his Brother dying without 'Issue, after the Consummation of Matrimony.

THE other Decisions are of the Faculty of Decrees of *Paris*, of the Universities of *Bourges* and *Bologna*, of the Divines of the University of *Paris*, of the Divines of *Bologna*, of the Universities of *Tholouse*, *Ferrara*, and *Padua*.

12. A Letter from the great Men of *England* to the Pope, upon the Affair of the Divorce. 'Twas dated in *July* 1530, and sign'd by Cardinal *Wolsey*, the Archbishop *Warham*, two Dukes, two Marquisses, 13 Earls, 4 Bishops, 28 Barons, 22 Abbats, 11 Knights and Doctors. These were some of the Clauses in it. 435. *A.* 1530. *Nobility's Letter to the Pope upon his Divorce.*

Nam quæ tandem infelicitas! ut quod duæ Academiæ nostræ, quod Academia Parisiensis, quod multæ aliæ Academiæ in Galliâ, quod passim Doctissimi, Eruditissimi, & Integerrimi Viri, domi forisque Verum affirment, & pro Vero defendere tam Verbo quam Calamo se paratos ostendunt, id pro Vero non obtineat à Sede Apostolicâ ille Princeps, cujus Ore atque Præsidio, sua stat Sedi Apostolicæ auctoritas, à tam multis ac populis etiam potentissimis tam validè impetita; quibus partim ferro, partim calamo, partim voce atque auctoritate, sæpius in ea causa restitit; & tamen solus illius auctoritatis Beneficio non fruitur, qui curavit ut esset quâ alii fruerentur——

Hoc autem si non vult, & qui Pater esse debeat, nos tanquam Orphanos relinquere decrevit, & pro Abjectis habere, ita certe interpretabitur Nostri Nobis curam esse relictam, & aliunde nobis remedia conquiremus.

Sunt quidem Remedia extrema semper duriora, sed morbum omnino levare curat ægrotus, & in malorum commutatione non nihil esse spei, ut si minus sequatur quod bonum est, saltem quod est minus malum.

i. e. 'For how great a misfortune is it, that 'what our own two Universities, the University of *Paris*, as well as many others in 'France, what so many Men of Learning, 'Knowledge and Integrity, both at home 'and abroad have affirm'd to be true, and the

H VIII. 'Truth of which they ſeem ready to defend both 'in their Diſcourſes and Writings, yet cannot 'a Confirmation of this be obtain'd from the 'Apoſtolical See by that Prince, by whoſe 'Support and Aſſiſtance that See ſtill preſerves 'its Authority, after having been ſhaken and 'undermin'd by ſo many and ſo powerful Ad-'verſaries, whom he often oppos'd, partly by 'his Sword, partly by his Pen, at other times 'by his Commands and Authority; from 'whence others are enabled to obtain thoſe 'mighty Advantages from which he now 'finds himſelf only excluded.——

'But if your Holineſs, whom we juſtly call 'our Father, ſhall by refuſing to comply here-'in, eſteem us as Caſt-aways, and reſolve to 'leave us Orphans, we can make no other 'Conſtruction of it, but that the Care of our 'ſelves is committed to our own Hands, and 'that we are left to ſeek our Remedy elſe-'where.——

'Desperate Remedies indeed are only to 'be apply'd to deſperate Caſes; but he that 'is ſick, will by any means get rid of his Diſ-'temper: and in the change of our Miſeries 'there is ſome Comfort, when if we can't ob-'tain perfect Relief, yet we may alter our 'Condition to that which is leſs afflicting and 'more tolerable.'

More Deciſions of the Univerſities, &c. 416, 417, 420.

13. Decisions of the Univerſity of *Orleans*; dated *June* 22, 1531.

14. Of the Doctors and Advocates of *Paris*; dated *June* 14.

15. Of the Doctors of *Paris*, and the Faculty of Decrees; dated *Auguſt* 19, 1531.

16. The

16. THE authentick Copy of the Treaty made for the Marriage of *Henry* VIII. with *Catherine* of *Arragon*. *A.* 1533.

Copy of Henry's Marriage Treaty with Catherine. 448.

17. DECISIONS of the Convocation of the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, upon the King's firſt Marriage, dated *April* 5. 1533. at the Chapter-houſe of St. *Paul's*.

18. RESTITUTION of the Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* to *Thomas Cranmer*; dated *April* 29. 1533. at *Weſtminſter*.

Temporalities of Canterbury given Cranmer. 456.

19. THE Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Sentence, annulling the King's firſt Marriage. 'Tis dated at the Church of St. *Peter de Dunſtable*, in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, *May* 23. 1533.

His Sentence annulling the King's Marriage. 462.

20. A Deciſion of the Prelates and Clergy of *York*, in Convocation aſſembled, upon the Diſpenſation of *Julius* II. dated *May* 13. 1533. at the Chapter-houſe at *York*.

Deciſion of the Clergy of the Province of York. 472.

21. THE King's Appeal from the Pope's Sentence to the next General Council; dated *June* 29. 1533. at *Greenwich* *.

Henry's Appeal to a general Council. 476.

IN this Appeal the King made uſe of the following Precaution.

Præmiſſâ per nos ſolemni & expreſſi Proteſtatione quod non eſt noſtræ intentionis per infra ſcripta aliquod contra ſanctam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, ſacro ſanctæque ſedis Apoſtolicæ auctoritatem Divinitus conceſſam, aliàs quam Officii boni & Catholici Principis fuerit, dicere, aſſerere, ſeu moliri: Et ſi ſecus a nobis agitari contigerit, id

* DR. *Burnet* ſays, that *Bonner* who carry'd over this Appeal to *Marſeilles*, where the Pope was then met by *Francis* I. made it with ſuch Boldneſs, and threaten'd the Pope upon it with ſo much Vehemence, that the Pope talk'd of throwing him into a Caldron of Melted Lead, or burning him alive; ſo that he was fain to ſteal away.

H. VIII. *revocare & emendare, atque Catholicè corrigere, prompti erimus, quam cito Nobis de hoc apertè conſtiterit, & legitimè fuerit perſuaſum.*

i. e. WITH a ſolemn and expreſs Proteſtation, that it is not our Intention by the underwritten to declare, aſſert, or attempt any thing contrary to the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, and the divine Authority committed to the Holy Apoſtolick See, or unbecoming a good and Catholick Prince. And if any ſuch thing ſhou'd happen on our part, we ſhall be ready to retract, amend, and publickly correct it, as ſoon as the ſame ſhall be made fully to appear to our Conviction.

His Licence to the Pope's Collector. 479.

22. THE King's Permiſſion to the Pope's Collector to exerciſe his Office *durante beneplacito*; dated at *Weſtminſter*, *July* 17. 1533.

III. *Affairs relating to Cardinal* Wolſey.

Wolſey's aſcendant over the King.

NEVER had any Miniſter or Favourite a greater Aſcendant over his Maſter, than Cardinal *Wolſey* had over *Henry* VIII. Pope *Leo* X. was ſo ſenſible of it, that he made no ſcruple to tell *Wolſey* himſelf, that he knew with what eaſe he cou'd perſwade or diſſwade the King juſt as he pleas'd. 'Tis highly probable, as *Polydore Virgil* affirms, that *Wolſey* was the firſt Man that put it into the King's Head to be divorc'd from Queen *Catherine*. He was reſolv'd to be reveng'd of the Emperor who had trifled with him on account of the Papacy, and at the ſame time to be even with the Queen who cou'd not help reproaching him for the Irregularities of his Life, unworthy of a Clergyman, a Biſhop, a Cardinal, and a Legate of the Holy See. When the Affair of the Divorce

His Motives and Conduct in the Affair of Henry's *Divorce.*

Divorce came first on the Carpet, the Cardinal *A.* 1529.
ſpar'd no Pains nor Care to bring it about to the King's Satisfaction; but afterwards, whether he was diſcourag'd by the Difficulties that occurr'd in it, or whether he was brib'd by the Emperor or the Pope, he wiſh'd the King to drop it, and 'tis not unlikely that he himſelf made it his Endeavour to perſwade him to it. This however is certain, that after *Campeggio*'s arrival in *England*, *Wolſey* who was before a flaming Stickler for the Divorce, became very cold in the Affair, and readily gave into all the Artifices which his Collegue made uſe of to ſpin it, out: nay one may gather from his dying Words that he had endeavour'd to diſſwade the King from purſuing it; but the King's Love for *Anne Bolleyn* was an Obſtacle in the way which his Favourite cou'd never get over. He thought, no doubt, to carry his Point by another Method, in raiſing ſuch Difficulties to diſcourage the King, by the means of his Collegue *Campeggio*, as might ſeem inſuperable; and this was the very thing that ruin'd him. As he diſcover'd what he was driving at a little too ſoon, he drew upon him the Enmity of *Anne* of *Bolleyn*, who was reſolv'd to be reveng'd, and knew her Intereſt to be the ſtrongeſt: For no doubt ſhe was ſupported by the generality of the Courtiers, who had much ado to bear with a Prelate of his imperious Tempet.

His Miſtake, and the beginning of his Ruin.

BEFORE *Campeggio* ſet out on his Return for *Rome*, the King's Attorney General had preferr'd an Indictment againſt *Wolſey* in the Star-chamber, for having preſum'd to exerciſe the Authority of the Pope's Legate, without firſt obtaining the King's Letters Patent; in which he had tranſgreſs'd the Statutes of Proviſors

His Indictment for violating the Statutes of Proviſors and Præmunire.

H. VIII. visors and Præmunire. It is astonishing that so wise a Man as the Cardinal shou'd neglect a Formality which the Laws of *England* had made so essential. But as the King himself, the whole Court, all the Clergy, and in short the entire Kingdom, own'd him for Legate without any scruple, he either forgot, or wilfully neglected, to furnish himself with an Instrument so necessary. Tho this was not the real Cause, yet it was made a Handle of for his Ruin. Some days after, the King took away the Great Seal from him, tho he had granted it to him for his Life; and the very next Day, which was the 18th of *October* 1529. the Attorney General charg'd him with a fresh Information, upon which he was condemn'd, his Estate confiscated to the King, and his Person outlaw'd. This done, the King order'd him to quit the Palace call'd *York-house*, where *Whitehall* now stands; and to retire to a Country-house in his Diocese of *Winchester*. Immediately upon this, an Inventory was taken of his Goods, and he was found possess'd of immense Wealth, which was all forfeited to the King. The Cardinal now finding himself at the Mercy of his Enemies, caus'd a Petition to be presented to the King, praying his Protection to secure him against those Affronts which private Men were now at Liberty to put upon him with Impunity. The King seem'd at that time to be inclinable to Clemency; for he not only granted him the Protection he desir'd, but also the Liberty of making his Defence in any of the Courts of Justice. Moreover, he left him the Archbishoprick of *York*, and the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and sent him a certain Ring, as a Token that

K. takes the Great Seal from him.

His Condemnation, together with the Forfeiture of his Estate and Outlawry.

He petitions the K. for Protection, and obtains it.

The King sends him a Ring.

that his Friendſhip for him ſtill continued. *A.* 1527.
Then the Cardinal's Enemies were ſadly afraid that he wou'd come into Favour; and in order to avert ſuch a Blow as that wou'd have been to the whole Party, they got the King's Conſent that *Wolſey*'s Affair ſhou'd be brought before the Parliament. Therefore 44 Articles of Impeachment were exhibited againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, very different from thoſe which had been produc'd by the Attorney General, who adher'd ſtrictly to the expreſs Form of the Statute of Præmunire, which enacted that no Perſon ſhou'd be diſpens'd with from obſerving it, without the King's Letters Patent. But when all is done, tho, ſtrictly ſpeaking, it might have been ſaid that the Cardinal had tranſgreſs'd the ſaid Statute, yet this was a mere Quirk; becauſe tho the King did not expreſly approve of the Cardinal's Legantine Power by Letters Patent, he had own'd his Authority upon a thouſand occaſions. Therefore in theſe new Articles, wherein there was no notice taken of ſuch a defect of Formality, the Cardinal was accus'd of having made a tyrannical Uſe of that Power and Intereſt he had with the King, and of Misbehaviour in his Poſt of Chancellor. And among the reſt there was one Article, importing that the Cardinal, tho he knew himſelf ſoundly pox'd, had the aſſurance to whiſper the King frequently in his Ear, and to blow his infectious Breath in his Face. The upper Houſe voted him guilty of High-Treaſon; yet in the lower Houſe he was ſo wittily defended by *Cromwell* *, who did not excuſe his Faults, but

His Impeachment in Parliament.

Houſe of Lords vote him guilty of High Treaſon.

* THIS was he whoſe Abilities lifted him from one Poſt and Dignity to another, till he was created Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord great Chamberlain, *&c.*

H. VIII. only shew'd he was not guilty of High Treason as his Enemies had given out, that the Commons refus'd to carry their Resentment so far as the Lords had done.

Commons more moderate.

MEAN time the Cardinal was still banish'd the Court *, fluttering betwixt Hope and Fear, and uncertain what the King intended to do with him, At length he thought all wou'd be well again; for the King granted him a Pardon in Form, which was the most ample and circumstantial that had ever been seen before. Some Days after, the King made certain Indentures with him, by which he left him the Archbishoprick of *York*, and the Titles of Bishop of *Winchester*, and Abbat of *St. Albans*, reserving the Revenues of the two latter to himself; moreover he gave him a Pension of 1000 *l. Sterling* upon the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and made him a Present of 6374 Pounds in Furniture, being part of his own Goods which had been forfeited. The rest of his immense Wealth remain'd with the King, as well as the two Colleges of his Foundation at *Ipswich* and *Oxford*. And all the Revenues thereof were seiz'd for the King, who founded those Colleges again with the Title of *Henry* VIIIth's *Colleges*.

The King's Pardon and Presents to him.

BY all this it appear'd that the King did not intend to Ruin him absolutely, but only to reduce him to a state of Mediocrity. Accordingly he gave him leave to go and reside in his Archbishoprick of *York*, where he had never been yet, and where it was necessary he shou'd be solemnly install'd to qualify him for perform-

* HE resided then at *Asbur*, a House near *Hampton-Court*, belonging to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and the next place he went to was *Richmond*.

ing

ing the Eccleſiaſtical Functions; for till then he had contented himſelf with the Title and Revenues. This was the Reaſon that he halted a few Days at *Cawood*, (a Caſtle within ſeven Miles of *York*) till every thing was ready for his Inſtallation. But at the ſame time, his Enemies finding the King's Heart incline more and more to Clemency, and dreading the return of ſo dangerous a Miniſter, play'd ſo many Engines, and fill'd the King's Head with ſo many Suſpicions, that when the Cardinal leaſt of all expected it, he ſaw the Earl of *Northumberland* come in, who arreſted him in the King's Name for High Treaſon. Probably his Death was then reſolv'd upon, but he had the good Fortune to die * upon the Road as they were bringing him to *London*. Before he expir'd, he adviſ'd the Officer of the Guard, that if ever he had the Honour of being a Member of the Privy Council, he ſhou'd take great heed what he put in the King's Head, for he wou'd never be able to drive it out again. In all appearance he alluded to the Affair of the Divorce. He ſaid alſo, that if he had but ſerv'd God with as much Zeal as he had ſerv'd the King, he ſhou'd not have been abandon'd in his Grey Hairs. But to ſpeak the Truth, he had no Cauſe to boaſt ſo much of his Fidelity to the King; for in all his Counſels he ſeldom had a View to any thing but his own private Intereſt.

A. 1529

His Journey to the North, and Arreſt for High Treaſon.

His Death.

OF the Acts which relate to Cardinal *Wolſey*, there are a pretty many relating to his Foundation of the two Colleges at *Ipſwich* and *Oxford*, which he actually ſet about before the Affair of the Divorce, and which he finiſh'd while it

* HE died at *Leiceſter* Abbey, *Nov.* 29. 1530. and was bury'd next Day.

H. VIII. was depending, by making a cunning Uſe of the then Diſpoſition of *Clement* VII. to refuſe nothing to the King, that he might the leſs reſent the Pope's artful Delays in the grand Affair. This is ſufficient to diſcover what was the motive of theſe Acts that relate to thoſe two Colleges, and which I ſhall range in their due place according to the Order of Time.

THE chief Acts then that we find in theſe ſix Years relating to the Affairs of Cardinal *Wolſey* and his two Colleges, are as follows.

Pope's Bull for degrading of Criminal Prieſts. 239.

1. A Bull of *Clement* VII. licenſing Cardinal *Wolſey* to give a Power to any one Biſhop, aſſiſted by ſome Abbats, to degrade Prieſts that have committed any Crime, in order for their Trial in a Temporal Court; dated at *Orvieto* the 4th of the Ides of *May* 1528. This Bull was granted at the Requeſt of Cardinal *Wolſey*.

For ſuppreſſing Monaſteries, &c. 240.

2. A Bull permitting *Wolſey* to ſuppreſs five Monaſteries, and apply the Revenues thereof to his College at *Ipſwich*, *Motu proprio*; dated the Day before the Ides of the ſame Month at *Orvieto*.

241.

3. ANOTHER for ſuppreſſing St. *Peter's* Monaſtery at *Ipſwich*, in order to make a College of it. Of the ſame Date.

243, 244, to 247.

4. ANOTHER of the ſame Nature for ſuppreſſing a Pariſh Church for the ſame purpoſe, dated the Day before the Calends of *June* 1528. at *Orvieto*.

5. THREE other Bulls upon the ſame occaſion, and of the ſame Date.

Henry's Grant to Wolſey's College at Oxford. 265.

6. THE King's Grant to the College at *Oxford*, founded by Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated *July* 6. 1528. at *Hampton-Court*.

7. THE

7. THE Grant of the Temporalities of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, vacant by the Death of *Fox* to Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated the 20th of *October* 1528. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1529. *Of the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter *to* Wolſey. 268.

8. A Bull empowering the two Legates, *Wolſey* and *Campeggio*, to ſuppreſs Monaſteries, where there are leſs than 12 Friers or Nuns, and to remove them to other Convents; dated the Day before the Ides of *November* 1528. at *Rome*. *Another Bull for ſuppreſſing Monaſteries.* 272.

9. THE Pope's Order to the two Legates, to inform themſelves whether the King's Requeſt to ſuppreſs ſome of the greateſt Monaſteries, and convert them into Cathedral Churches, be for the Advantage of the Kingdom; dated as above. *Pope's Order about turning the great Monaſteries into Cathedrals.* 273.

10. HIS Bull for conferring the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* upon Cardinal *Wolſey*, without prejudice of the other Benefices in his Poſſeſſion; dated the 6th of the Ides of *February*, 1529. at *Rome*. *His Grant of the See of* Wincheſter *to* Wolſey. 287.

11. HIS Bull empowering the Legates to ſuppreſs what Monaſteries they thought fit, in order to be converted into Cathedral Churches; dated the 4th of the Calends of *June* 1529. at *Rome*. *His Power to the Legates to turn Monaſteries into Cathedrals.* 291.

12. COMMISSIONERS appointed to hear Cauſes in Chancery for the eaſe of Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated *June* 11. 1529. at *Weſtminſter*. *Commiſſioners of the Chancery.* 299.

'THIS was during the time that the Le-
'gates were employ'd in judging of the Af-
'fairs of the Divorce.

13. A Permiſſion to Cardinal *Wolſey* to appoint Attorneys to appear for him in the Chancery Court; dated *Oct.* 9. 1529. at *Weſtminſter*. Wolſey's *permiſſion to have Attorneys there.* 348.

14. A

H. VIII.

14. A Memorandum, ſhewing, that on the 17th of *October*, *Wolſey* deliver'd the great Seal to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the King's Commiſſioners; and that on the 25th of the ſame Month, the King gave it to *Thomas Moore*, with the Title of High Chancellor.

The great Seal given to Tho. Moore. 349.

15. The Attorneys nam'd by *Wolſey* to appear for him in the Court of Chancery, by virtue of an Inſtrument dated *Oct.* 9. as above.

Wolſey's Attorneys in Chancery. 350.

16. The King's Protection granted to Cardinal *Wolſey*, *durante beneplacito*; and the Licence given to him to defend himſelf in any of the Courts; dated *Nov.* 18. 1529. at *Weſtminſter*.

King's Protection to Wolſey 351.

'It appears by this Act that *Wolſey* was 'outlaw'd the 9th of *October*, and that he had 'another Sentence paſs'd on him upon the '20th.

17. A Pardon for Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated *Feb.* 12. 1530. at *Weſtminſter*.

His Pardon. 366.

'This Pardon included all Offences that 'the Cardinal had committed againſt the Laws 'to that very Day.

His Pardon. 366.

18. An Indenture between the King and the Cardinal; dated *Feb.* 17. 1530.

His Indenture with Wolſey. 371.

19. The Gift which the King made to the Cardinal of his confiſcated Goods and Chattels, valued at the Sum of 6374 *l. Sterling*.

His Gift of his forfeited Goods. 374.

20. A Commiſſion from the King to make Inquiry into the Eſtate belonging to Cardinal *Wolſey*; dated *July* 14. 1530. at *Weſtminſter*.

Inquiry into his Eſtate. 402.

21. The Surrender made to the King, of the Cardinal's College at *Oxford*, by the Dean, *&c.* dated *Jan.* 15. 1531. at *Oxford*.

Surrender of his College at Oxford. 409.

22. Another of the ſame Nature, by the Priory of the Holy Trinity at *London*; dated *Feb.* 24. 1531.

Of Trinity Houſe *at* London. 418.

IV.

A. 1528.

IV. *Affairs with* Scotland.

THIS Article will not take up much room, but ſomething muſt be ſaid of it, for the ſake of Connection.

JAMES V. was ſtill in the Hands of the Earl of *Angus*, *George Douglas* his Brother, and *Archibald Douglas* their Uncle, who were Regents of the Kingdom. But in the Year 1528, *Margaret* the King's Mother, who had obtain'd a Divorce from the Earl of *Angus*, and was marry'd again to *Henry Stewart*, concerted her Meaſures ſo wiſely, that ſhe perſuaded the young King to get out of the Hands of his Guardians. Accordingly, this young Prince made his Eſcape, and ſhut himſelf up in *Sterling*, where he publiſh'd a Proclamation for diſſolving the Regency. Theſe three Noblemen made ſeveral Attempts, and even took Arms to recover their Authority. But they could not hinder the King from taking the Reins of Government into his own Hands, in a Parliament which was held in *September*; after which the *Douglaſſes* were condemn'd as Rebels, and their Eſtates forfeited to the King; nevertheleſs they ſtill continued in Arms. But ſoon after, *Henry* VIII. fearing that *James* would be prevail'd on to break with him, and knowing that a War with *Scotland* would have been very inconvenient at that Juncture, found means to make a Peace, or rather Truce, with him for five Years; and obtain'd, that by a ſeparate Article the *Douglaſſes* might retire into *England* and ſtay there, on Condition that if they made any Incurſion into *Scotland*, *Henry* ſhould repair the Damage

James V. the young King of Scotland, takes the Government out of the Hands of the Regency,

Who are declared Rebels.

Henry makes a Truce with him.

as

H. VIII. as punctually as if it had been done by his own Subjects.

In 1532. there happen'd a Broil between the two Kings, which was very near occasioning a Rupture; but was accommodated by the Mediation of the King of *France*.

The Acts relating to Scotland *are,*

The Treaty. 278. 1. A Treaty of Peace or Truce for five Years, between *England*, *Scotland*, and *Berwick upon Twede*; dated *Decem.* 14. 1528. at *Berwick*.

286. 2. The Ratification of it by the King of *Scotland*; dated *January* 28. 1529. at *Edinburgh*.

Another Truce. 480. 3. A Treaty of Truce betwixt *England* and *Scotland* for one Year, ending at *Michaelmas* 1534; dated *Octob.* 1. 1533. at *Newcastle upon Tine*.

The rest of the 14th Volume of the *Fœdera*, contains those Acts which relate to Historical Transactions, from the beginning of the Year 1534. till towards the middle of the Year 1543. Mr. *Rymer* had more regard to the Proportion of his Volumes than to the Periods of Time by which the Events might be distinguish'd. But for my own part, as I have no other View than to shew the Relation which the several Acts bear to the Events we meet with in the History, I think myself obliged to pursue another Method, and shall prosecute the farther Account of the *Fœdera*, to the end of the Reign of *Henry* VIII. tho it carries me unavoidably into the xvth Volume, which contains the three last Years of this Reign. I think it not improper to divide the Transactions of these 13 Years of *Henry* VIII.

into four principal Articles. I. Of Affairs relating to Religion. II. Of foreign Affairs. III. Of the Affairs betwixt *England* and *Scotland*. IV. Of Affairs Domeſtic. It would be endleſs Labour to undertake a particular Explanation of the Occaſion and Motive of every ſingle Act in this Volume; but by reducing them under diſtinct Articles, we ſhall be able to diſtinguiſh in general thoſe that are the moſt uſeful; and that's enough for our Purpoſe. *A.* 1534.

ARTICLE I. *Affairs which relate to Religion.*

TWO Reaſons hinder me from dwelling long upon this Article: The firſt is, becauſe every thing which relates to the Alterations made in *England*, with reſpect to Religion, has been written with ſo much Care and Exactneſs, by the celebrated Author of the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, that it would be almoſt impoſſible to abridge his Work without ſpoiling it. The ſecond Reaſon is, the little Service that an Abridgment of that nature would be to this Account of the *Fœdera*; becauſe, for the Reaſon that I have already given, there are few Acts relating to that Subject in the thirteen laſt Years; therefore, I think it may be ſufficient to give the Subſtance of what paſs'd every Year upon this Head, and then direct to the Acts in the *Fœdera* which relate to thoſe Events.

Anno 1534. THE Subſtance of the Accommodation on foot betwixt *Clement* VII. and *Henry* VIII. which was broke off by the Pope's Precipitancy, was, That the Cauſe of the Divorce ſhould be try'd by the ſacred College,

H. VIII. lege, excepting only the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction. Dr. *Burnet* obſerves here very judiciouſly, that whoever is Maſter of *Henry* VIIIth's Character, will never ſuppoſe that this Prince would have engag'd to ſend a Proxy to *Rome*, and to conſent that the Cauſe ſhould be try'd there, if he had not been aſſur'd of the Succeſs: But I have another Remark which I ſubmit to the Judgment of the Reader. *Henry* had laid claim to the Supremacy of the Church of *England*, a Prerogative of which he was always extremely jealous. Now, in order to his Accommodation with the Pope, there would be an abſolute Neceſſity for his quitting that Prerogative; but, I confeſs, I don't ſee any Appearance that he ever had any ſuch Intention; and my Reaſon is this. The Biſhop of *Paris* ſet out from *London* for *Rome* in *December* 1533, but on what Day I know not, nor the Day of his Arrival at *Rome*. Afterwards a Courier was ſent from *Rome* to *London*, and back from *London* to *Rome*. Now, ſuppoſing all the Diſpatch was made that could be in theſe three Voyages, it were in a manner impoſſible that *Henry* could receive the News of the Pope's Sentence given againſt him before the Month of *February* 1534. Mean time, the Parliament which met on the 15th of *January*, had already taken ſuch Steps as ſhew that an Accommodation with the Court of *Rome* was what they did not dream of in *England*; which makes me imagine that the King made uſe of Artifice upon this Occaſion, and that he pretended to deſire an Accommodation on purpoſe to engage the Pope to paſs Sentence in his favour, and to get ſomething out of him afterwards, without any Intention to ſtand by

ſuch pretended Agreement. Dr. *Burnet* paſſes very ſlightly over this Difficulty, either for want of duly conſidering it, or becauſe he did not think it was proper to preſs it. After having told us that Sir *Edward Karne*, whom the King ſent to *Rome* to officiate there as his Proctor, met the Biſhop of *Paris* upon the Road, who inform'd him of the ill Succeſs of the Affair, he proceeds thus; *Henry being provok'd to ſee himſelf made the mere Jeſt of the Court of* Rome, *and deſpairing of any good Succeſs from the laſt Step he took, reſented it beyond meaſure, and reſolv'd therefore to break off from the Pope of* Rome. This ſeems to intimate, that *Henry* did not enter upon this Reſolution till he had been inform'd of what had paſs'd at *Rome*; but 'twas quite otherwiſe; for the Hiſtorian immediately adds what follows, *And he had already prepar'd himſelf for it, becauſe in the Parliament which ſate from the 15th of* January 1534. *to the laſt Day of* March, *he had chang'd the whole Conſtitution of the ſpiritual Government of his Dominions.* Now what could he mean by altering the whole ſpiritual Government of his Dominions, if he really deſign'd to ſtand to the Accommodation on foot with the Court of *Rome*, of which he had reaſon to expect the News every Moment. But ſuppoſing that he made uſe of this Artifice, on purpoſe only to get his Divorce juſtify'd by a Juridical Sentence from the Pope, and then to put a Jokè upon him, I don't ſee any thing in this that bears the Face of a Contradiction. *A.* 1534.

THE Parliament above-mention'd, which ſate from the 15th of *January* to the end of *March*, paſs'd ſeveral Acts, which did not ſhew that

H. VIII. that they were very desirous to be reconcil'd with *Rome*. In the first place, they disqualify'd Bishops from taking Cognizance of the Crime of Heresy, tho without altering the Pains to which Hereticks were subject by the old Laws. It must be observ'd that the King's main View was to bring the Clergy under, to the end that he might peaceably enjoy his Supremacy; he being very sensible that the only People from whom he was to expect the greatest Opposition, were the Clergy and Monks.

Bishops disqualified from trying Hereticks.

Ecclesiastical Constitutions examined.

By a second Act, it was order'd, that the Ecclesiastical Constitutions should be examin'd, in order to preserve such as should be judg'd necessary, and to abolish the others; and that for this purpose, the King should appoint 32 Commissioners, *viz.* 16 Members of Parliament, and 16 of the Clergy.

Story of the Nun of Kent.

A Third Act confirm'd the Sentence pass'd against *Elizabeth Barton*, commonly called the *Nun*, or *Holy Maid of* Kent; who, pretending to be inspir'd, had prophesy'd that if the King marry'd *Anne* of *Bolleyn*, he would die in a Month's time: She had also utter'd bitter Invectives and Menaces against the King and his Ministers. Several Priests, Friers, and others were her Abbettors, whose Aim was to rob the King of the Affections of his Subjects. Even *Warham*, *Fisher*, and *More*, were made to believe that the Maid was really inspir'd. But the King having order'd that she should be carefully examind, the whole Intrigue was found out, and the Nun with her Accomplices condemned to die. Tho they confess'd their Crime, yet *Sanders* puts them into the Roll of Martyrs. 'Tis observable, that the Parliament confirm'd the Condemnation of *Elizabeth Barton*, before they had receiv'd

ceiv'd the News of *Clement* the VIIth's Sentence against the King. This confirms the Remark I made above, that according to all Appearance, *Henry* only intended to amuse the Pope in the Accommodation propos'd, because if he had acted *bonâ fide*, nothing would have been more absurd than to revive the Affair of the Nun of *Kent*, at a Juncture when the News of the Accommodation with *Rome* was expected every Hour. A. 1534.

THIS very Parliament, after having receiv'd Intelligence of what pass'd at *Rome*, made four other Acts; the first of which confirm'd the Abolition of the Annates. *The Annates suppress'd.*

THE second entirely abolish'd the Pope's Authority in *England*, and settled the Manner of Electing and Consecrating Bishops for the future, without having Recourse to the Pope. The third abolish'd St. *Peter's* Pence, and all manner of Bulls and Mandates issued by the Court of *Rome*. The fourth annull'd the Marriage of the King with *Catherine* of *Arragon*, and confirm'd his second Marriage with *Anne* of *Bolleyn*. And it enacted moreover, that all Subjects, without exception, should swear to the Observation of the said Act, on pain of being declar'd guilty of High Treason. *The Pope's Authority abolish'd, together with Peter's Pence, and all Bulls from Rome.* *The Act for annulling the King's first Marriage, and confirming his second.*

AS soon as the Parliament was broke up, the King sent Commissioners into the Counties to administer the above-mention'd Oath to his Subjects; in which Oath, they did not forget to insert a Clause, acknowledging the King to be *supreme Head of the Church of* England. *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More*, for refusing to take the said Oath, were committed to Prison. *Fisher and More committed to Prison for not taking the Oath thereby enjoyn'd.*

H. VIII. *CLEMENT* VII. dying in *September*, Cardinal *Farneze* ſucceeded him by the Name of *Paul* III. but the Change of a Pope had no effect in *England*. The Parliament met again upon the 23d of *November*, and paſs'd ſeveral other Acts which had a manifeſt Tendency to break all the Links of the Chain by which the *Engliſh* had been bound to the Pope.

A new Pope choſen.

More Acts paſs'd againſt the Authority and Intereſt of the Pope and Clergy. Annates and Tenths of Benefices granted to the King.

THE firſt confirm'd the King's Title of *ſupreme Head of the Church of* England: The ſecond was againſt thoſe who had the Inſolence to ſpeak Evil of the King: The third depriv'd Perſons charg'd with High Treaſon, of the Benefit of Sanctuaries. The fourth eſtabliſh'd the Form of an Oath, with reſpect to the Act for ſettling the Succeſſion to the Crown. The fifth was a very unfortunate Act for the Clergy, becauſe it gave the King the Annates which had been taken away from the Pope: Moreover, it granted to the King the Tenth of the Revenues of Benefices. The ſixth order'd the Eſtabliſhment of twenty ſix Suffragan Biſhops, with a Power to each *Dioceſan* Biſhop to nominate two Perſons, of whom the King ſhould chuſe one. Theſe Suffragan Biſhops were properly what the Antients call'd *Chorepiſcopi* *.

* Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that at firſt they were the Biſhops of ſome Villages; but were afterwards put under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of the next City: They were ſet up before the Council of *Nice*, and continued to be in the Church for many Ages; but the Biſhops devolving their whole ſpiritual Power to them, they were put down, and a Decretal Epiſtle was forg'd in the Name of *P. Damaſus*, condemning them. The great Extent of the Dioceſes in *England* made it hard for one Biſhop to govern them with that Exactneſs which was neceſſary; theſe were therefore appointed to aſſiſt them in the Diſcharge of the Paſtoral Care.

THE ſame Parliament condemn'd *Fiſher* and *More* to perpetual Impriſonment; and the King expreſly excepted them out of the general Pardon, which he granted not long after *. *A.* 1535.

Fiſher and More excepted out of the Amneſty.

THE Parliament being broke up, the King order'd by a Proclamation, that the Name of a Pope ſhould be expung'd out of all the Books where it could be found, in order if poſſible, to bury it in Oblivion; and afterwards, all the Biſhops expreſsly renounc'd their Obedience to the Biſhop of *Rome*. Some, no doubt, did this againſt the Grain, of which Number was *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but a blind Obedience in this point was the only thing a Man could do to preſerve himſelf in the King's Favour.

The Pope's Name obliterated, and his Authority renounc'd by the Biſhops.

ANNO 1535. *Henry* having thus broke off all manner of Communication with *Rome*, reſolv'd to leave no Stone unturn'd to ſupport what he had done; tho he could not but ſee that the Submiſſion of his Subjects to the new Laws was owing to the Fear of a very great Number of them, rather than to any Change of their Opinions. But he thought that a few Examples of Severity would be ſufficient to keep the People in Awe, and it was for that very Reaſon he excepted *Fiſher* and *More* out of the general Pardon. On the other hand, it was a Pleaſure to him to find Religion in ſuch a State after the Breach with *Rome*, as render'd him more abſolute: Some wiſh'd the *Reformation* to be puſh'd farther, and others

* The Biſhop ſays they were both committed to the *Tower*, and were not allowed Pen, Ink and Paper, and that the old Biſhop was ill uſed both in his Clothes and Diet; for he had only Rags to cover him, and Fire was often deny'd to him.

H. VIII. dreaded nothing ſo much. Conſequently, each of the Parties ſtriving by a blind Complaiſance to obtain his Favour, it lifted him to a Degree of Authority to which none of his Predeceſſors ever attain'd; and the rather, becauſe the Supremacy with which he was veſted, put him into a Condition to humble the Clergy, who were not ſupported by the Pope now, as they were formerly.

Henry's Power at home more abſolute.

But of all the King's Subjects, the Monks were the moſt untractable; for they continually rav'd againſt his Conduct, and charg'd him with being the ſole Author of every thing that was done againſt the Pope: Nay, a Cordelier nam'd *Peyto*, had the Inſolence, when he preach'd before him, to tell him, *That the Dogs would lick his Blood, as they did formerly that of* Ahab. Theſe ſcandalous Invectives which tended manifeſtly to rob him of the Hearts of his Subjects, gave him ſo much Uneaſineſs, that he cauſed ſeveral Priors and Monks who had tranſgreſs'd in that kind to be hang'd: *Fiſher* and *More* were alſo executed. *Paul* III. hearing the News, cauſed a Bull to be drawn up which excommunicated *Henry*, and abſolv'd his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance; but he deferr'd the Publication of it to a more convenient Opportunity.

Story of Frier Peyto, *who curſed the King to his Face from the Pulpit.*

Priors and Monks hang'd.

Fiſher *and* More *executed.*

Bull for excommunicating Henry.

HENRY did not only put the Laws in ſevere Execution againſt ſome inſolent Monks, but he took it into his Head to ſuppreſs all the Monaſteries, and actually propos'd it to his Council; mean time he was made ſenſible that there would be Danger in attempting it all at once, and therefore he reſolv'd to do it by degrees. He cauſed a general Viſitation to be made of the Monaſteries by certain Viſitors appointed by his Vicegerent *Thomas Cromwell*,

Henry *propoſes the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries all at once; but is adviſed to do it by degrees.*

Cromwell, to whom he gave the Commiſſion of Viſitor-General. Theſe Viſitors having diſcover'd a great many Diſorders in ſeveral of thoſe religious Houſes, took occaſion from thence to perſuade the Priors or Superiors to ſubmit to the King's Clemency, and to reſign their Monaſteries to him with the Revenues thereof, which ſome accordingly did. Afterwards the King cauſed the Report made to him of this Viſitation to be publiſh'd, in order to leſſen the Veneration of the People for the Monks, when they ſhould reflect on the Diſorders which had been diſcover'd in the Monaſteries, and which probably were very much aggravated *. This alſo furniſh'd the King with a Pretext for publiſhing an Order, whereby in quality of ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, he permitted the Monks to quit their Houſes, and loos'd them from their Vows; but this had no great Effect. *A.* 1536. *Viſitation of Monaſteries.*

THIS ſame Year the Cardinal *Campeggio*, and another *Italian*, whoſe Name was *Ghinucci*, were depriv'd of their Biſhopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*, which were given to *Shaxton* and *Latimer*. Italians *turn'd out of the Biſhopricks of* Sarum *and* Worceſter.

ANNO 1536. The King ſtill kept the Clergy in a Dependance on him, and made no haſte to appoint Commiſſioners for chuſing the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions which it was neceſſary to keep. The Pope's Authority was aboliſh'd by Act of Parliament, and yet it ſtill *Why* Henry *deferr'd the Change of the Conſtitutions.*

* The Biſhop ſays, that among other abominable and monſtrous Diſorders, the Sin of *Sodom* was found in many Houſes, great Factions and barbarous Cruelties in others; and in ſome, Tools for coining of Money: That the Abbat of *Langden* in *Kent*, the firſt Houſe that was ſurrender'd to the King, was found in Bed with a Whore, who went in the Habit of a Lay-Brother.

H. VIII. subsisted in the Constitutions. This put the Clergy into a terrible Confusion, because in very many Cases they could not avoid violating, either the Constitutions, or the new Laws; by which means they found themselves absolutely dependent on the King, who might fall upon them for transgressing either, as he thought fit.

Small Monasteries suppress'd.

THIS Year the Parliament, at the King's Request, suppress'd all the Monasteries which came short of 200 *l. Sterling* Revenue, and gave all their Estates to the King. Of this sort there were 376, by which Reduction the King acquir'd a Revenue of 32000 *l.* and a Capital of above 100000 *l.* in Plate, and other Goods and Chattels.

Pope's Proposal of an Accommodation.

PAUL III. perceiving that the Affairs of Religion in *England* went every Day worse and worse for him, caus'd certain Proposals of a Reconciliation to be made to the King; but they were rejected, and the Parliament by new Statutes confirm'd all that had been done against the Pope.

King's Protest against the Council at Mantua.

SOME time after this, the King was cited to appear before the Council which was to be held at *Mantua*; but after having taken the Advice of his Clergy upon this Head, he publish'd a formal Protest against the said Council.

I don't stop here to mention the several attempts which were made in *England*, either for advancing or checking the Progress of the Reformation, because the Curious who wou'd know all the Particulars thereof, may have recourse to the *History of the Reformation* which I have already spoke of.

ANNO 1537. A Rebellion which had been rais'd in the North, and of which I design

to

to treat in another Article, having given the King a ſtrong Jealouſy that the Monks were the Authors and Abettors of it, he reſolv'd to ſuppreſs all the reſt of the Monaſteries. *A.* 1537.

BUT being afraid that it wou'd meet with ſome Oppoſition in Parliament, he thought the ſhorteſt and the eaſieſt Method wou'd be to follow the Meaſures he had already taken with ſome Succeſs, *viz.* to get thoſe Monaſteries reſign'd. For this end he caus'd a very ſtrict and ſevere Viſitation to be made of ſuch Monaſteries as were ſtill kept up, and order'd the Report of all the Diſorders therein detected to be publiſh'd. This done, he caus'd all the Images to be burnt, by which the People had been impos'd upon, and under this Pretext he ſeiz'd the Shrines of Saints, and particularly that of *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, which was very rich, and caus'd his Bones to be burnt in a publick place. This enrag'd the Bigots to the laſt Degree, and produc'd ſeveral virulent Libels againſt the King, by which he was only the more exaſperated, and ſpur'd on to make a ſpeedy Concluſion of what he had already begun, I mean the Project of ſecuring himſelf entirely againſt the Enterprizes of the Monks.

King reſolves to ſuppreſs all the Monaſteries.

Orders a ſtrict Viſitation of them, and Irregularities to be publiſh'd.

Images and Shrines deſtroy'd.

Libels againſt the King.

MEAN time as one of the heavieſt Charges publiſh'd againſt the King, was his deſign to make a total Change of Religion in *England*, and to introduce the Reformation, he endeavour'd to clear himſelf of it by putting the Laws in Execution againſt Hereticks with the utmoſt Severity. The Term of Hereticks was given at that time to all that believ'd a Tittle more or leſs than the King believ'd, and who did not ſtrictly adhere to the Laws that were made concerning Religion.

His Perſecution of the Reform'd.

ANNO

H. VIII. *ANNO* 1538, This Year the King caus'd one *Lambert* to be burnt alive, after having had a publick Diſputation with him, without being able to convince him. And not long after, he was every whit as ſevere againſt ſome Catholicks charg'd with another ſort of Hereſy, *viz.* the holding a Correſpondence with Cardinal *Pool*.

Lambert burnt alive.

All the Monaſteries reſign'd to the King.

ANNO 1539. At length all the Monaſteries were reſign'd this Year to the King by the Superiors or Priors thereof, who were oblig'd to ſign Reſignations which were voluntary in appearance, but were for the generality manifeſtly extorted. The Revenue of the Monaſteries ſuppreſs'd amounted to 161000 *l. Sterling*, as they were then let, the Priors of moſt of them having ſunk a great part thereof in their own Pockets, when they found what a Storm was coming. Moreover, the King was a great Gainer by the Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Furniture and Materials, inſomuch that there was found in the ſingle Abbey of *St. Edmondſbury*, as much Gold and Silver in Bullion as amounted to 5000 Marks.

Their Revenues.

The Law eſtabliſhing the 6 Articles of Faith, and to whom owing.

THE Reformed triumph'd at the misfortune of the Monks, but their Joy was not long liv'd. The ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries was ſoon follow'd by the famous Law of the ſix Articles ſettling the Credenda of Religion *, the Violation of which was fatal to a great many Peo-

* THIS Law was juſtly call'd by the name of the Bloody Statute, for it ſentenc'd all thoſe to be burnt or hang'd, 1. Who deny'd Tranſubſtantiation. 2. Who pleaded for the neceſſity of adminiſtring the Communion in both kinds. Or, 3. That it was lawful for Prieſts to marry. 4. Or to break the Vow of Chaſtity. 5. Or that private Maſſes were of no ſervice. 6. Or in fine, that auricular Confeſſion was not neceſſary for Salvation.

ple.

ple. 'Twas *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* who advis'd the King to this Law, in order to ſhew the World that tho he had ſuppreſs'd the Monaſteries he had no intention to favour the Reformed, or to change the Religion. This Biſhop was mighty zealous for the Pope in ſecret, but he had the Art of diſſembling his Sentiments, and affected a fond Compliance with the King's Will and Pleaſure, that he might be in a Condition to do his Party Service. *A.* 1542.

ANNO 1540. *Cromwell* the King's Vicegerent in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, was created Earl of *Eſſex*, but was not long after accus'd of High-Treaſon, and condemn'd to die by an Act of Attainder, without being admitted to make his Defence. *Cromwell made E. of* Eſſex, *and attainted.*

THE Parliament gave a very convincing Proof of their ſlaviſh Attachment to the King by one Act, wherein they not only approved of every Regulation that the Commiſſioners appointed by the King had made concerning Religion, but likewiſe of whatever Regulations they ſhou'd make for the time to come with the King's Approbation. As *Henry* cou'd not bear that his Subjects ſhou'd believe one Article more or leſs than he did, ſeveral of both Parties were executed for preſuming to depart from this Rule. *Parliament's ſlaviſh Attachment to the K.*

ANNO 1541. At the cloſe of 1540, and the beginning of the Year following, the King founded ſix new Biſhopricks, *viz. Weſtminſter, Cheſter, Glouceſter, Peterborough, Oxford* and *Briſtol.* *Six new Biſhopricks founded.*

ANNO 1542. This Year the Parliament made an Act for repealing the Laws and particular Conſtitutions of Colleges and Hoſpitals. This was to give the King an opportunity *Old Laws of Colleges, &c. repeal'd.*

H. VIII. nity to ſuppreſs thoſe Houſes, which according to ſuch antient Conſtitutions, cou'd not be reſign'd without the unanimous conſent of the Proprietors.

A Plot againſt Cranmer.

ANNO 1543. There was a deep Plot laid this Year to ruin *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The King pretended to give into it, but inform'd him of it at the ſame time, and aſſiſted in bringing him out of Danger *.

All the Colleges and Hoſpitals reſign'd to the King.

ANNO 1544. This Year all the Colleges and Hoſpitals were reſign'd to the King by Acts, which tho they ſeem'd to be voluntary, were moſt of them forc'd. However the King ſpar'd the two Univerſiries of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, after having made them wait a long time for the Favour.

And the Eſtates thereof granted to the King.

ANNO 1545. This Year the Parliament granted to the King all the Eſtates which had belong'd to Colleges and Hoſpitals.

All the rich Furniture of Churches carry'd in Proceſſion, and then depoſited in the Treaſury.

ANNO 1546. A Peace having been concluded this Year, betwixt *France* and *England*, the King caus'd a Proceſſion to be made with all the richeſt and moſt precious Ornaments and Moveables in the Churches; and when the Proceſſion was over, he caus'd the whole to be lock'd up in his Treaſury.

Shaxton *abjures to ſave his Life.*

THIS ſame Year *Shaxton*, who had reſign'd his Biſhoprick of *Sarum*, that he might

* DR. *Burnet*, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, ſays, that *Gardiner* employ'd many to infuſe it into the King, that *Cranmer* was the greateſt encourager of Hereſy in all *England*, becauſe he had oppos'd the ſix Articles. But *Cranmer* wiſh'd the King to conſider well what Hereſy was, that he might not condemn ſuch for Hereticks as ſtood for the Word of God againſt human Inventions. And he expreſs'd ſo great a Sincerity, and put ſo entire a Confidence in the King, that inſtead of being ruin'd he was now better eſtabliſh'd than formerly.

not

not be oblig'd to ſign the ſix Articles, being again preſs'd upon that Head, and at laſt condemn'd to be burnt, made an Abjuration to ſave his Life. But his Example was not follow'd by Mrs. *Anne Ayſcough* or *Askew*, who choſe rather to be burnt. *A.* 1534. *Mrs.* Ayſcough *burnt.*

CRANMER had another deſperate Puſh made againſt him; but the King, who lov'd and valu'd him, took care himſelf to bring him off with Safety. *Cranmer protected again by the King.*

THE Acts in the *FOEDERA* which relate to thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, are as follow,

1. THE King's Aſſent to the Election of *Rowland Lee*, for Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, in a Writ directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; dated *March* 19, 1534. at *Weſtminſter*. *King's Aſſent to the Biſhop of* Coventry's *Election* 485.

THIS is the firſt we meet with ſince the paſſing of the Act of Parliament, appointing the Method of electing and conſecrating Biſhops. Before that time, the King's Aſſent began with theſe Words; *Cum Dominus Summus Pontifex*, &c. i. e. *Whereas our Lord the Pope.* But neither in this, nor in the following, was any mention made of the Pope.

2. THE Oath taken to the King by ſeveral Monks, and entire Monaſteries; dated *May* 5, 1534. *Oath of the Monks to the King* 489.

Quod Henricus Rex noſter eſt Caput Eccleſiæ.

Quod Epiſcopus Romanus, qui Papæ nomen uſurpat, & Summi Pontificis nomen ſibi arrogat, nihilo majoris, neque auctoritatis, neque juriſdictionis habendus ſit, quam cæteri quivis Epiſcopi in Anglia, vel alibi, in ſua quiſque Diœceſi—— Epiſcopi Romani Legibus, Decretis & Canonibus ſi qui contra Legem Divinam & Sacram Scripturam eſſe inveniantur, in perpetuum renunciamus.

Quod

H. VIII. *Quod quiſque in ſuis Orationibus primum omnium Regem tanquam Supremum Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, deinde Reginam cum ſua ſobole, tum demum Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem, &c.*

'*i. e.* THAT *Henry* our King is Head of the Church.

'THAT the Biſhop of *Rome*, who uſurps 'the name of Pope, and aſſumes to himſelf 'the Title of Chief Prieſt, is to have no 'greater Authority nor Juriſdiction, than any 'other Biſhop in *England*, or elſewhere, in 'his reſpective Dioceſs.

'WE for ever renounce all the Laws, 'Decrees and Canons of the Biſhop of *Rome*, 'which are found to be contrary to the Di-'vine Law, and the Sacred Scriptures.

'THAT in the Prayers, the King be pray'd 'for firſt of all, by every one, as Supreme 'Head of the Church of *England*, and then 'the Queen, with her Iſſue; and laſtly, the 'Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c.'

THERE are many other Declarations of the like nature, by ſeveral other religious Houſes, to p. 526.

WE find alſo in p. 527, that the Biſhops Elect were confirm'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, after he had ſeen the King's Conſent.

Biſhop's Renunciations of the Pope. 549.

3. THE Act by which *Rowland Lee*, Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, renounc'd the Pope; dated *Feb.* 27. 1535.

THIS was a model for all the reſt.

AS the *Fœdera* abounds with the King's Aſſent to the Election of Biſhops, and with Orders for reſtoring their Temporalities to them, 'tis ſufficient to premiſe here once for all,

all, that here are the like Acts for almoſt all the Biſhopricks of *England*, which may be uſeful on ſome Occaſions, when Recourſe may therefore be had to the Index. *A.* 1536.

4. The following Act ſhews the manner of electing Suffragan Biſhops.

Rex Reverend. in Chriſto Patri & Prædilecto Conſiliario noſtro, Thomæ Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi ſalutem. *The Writ for electing Suffragan Biſhops.* 559.

Reverendus Pater & Conſiliarius noſter, Richardus Norwicenſis Epiſcopus, nobis ſignificavit, quod Diœceſis ſua Epiſcopi Suffraganei ſolatio, qui ſuæ ſolicitudinis partem ſuſtinere conſuevit, deſtituta eſt & exiſtit, & ideo Reverendos Patres Georgium Abbatem Monaſterii Sanctæ Mariæ de Leyſton, & Thomam Mannynge Priorem Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ de Buſlei Norwicenſis Diœceſis, Ordine Sacerdotali ritè inſignitos, de legitimo matrimonio natos, & in ætate legitimâ conſtitutos, viroſque in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus multum circumſpectos, quibus de Canonicis nihil obviat inſtitutis quominus, ut aſſeruit, ad Epiſcopalem Suffraganei Dignitatem admitti poſſint & deberent, Nobis per ſuas literas, ſuo magno ſigillo munitas, præſentavit humiliter & devotè, ſupplicans quatenus Nos alterum ipſorum ſic præſentatorum ad aliquam Sedem Epiſcopi Suffraganei, intra Provinciam Cantuarienſem exiſtentem, nominare, ipſique ſic nominato, ſtylum titulum & dignitatem hujuſmodi ſedis donare dignaremur.

Unde Nos ex gratiâ noſtra ſpeciali, & mero motu noſtro, dictum Reverendum Patrem Thomam Mannynge, &c. alterum ex dictis præſentatis, Epiſcopum Suffraganeum Sedis Gipwici Norwicenſis Diœceſi antedictæ nominamus, &c.

Requirentes vos, quatenus eundem Patrem ſic per nos nominatum in Epiſcopum Suffraganeum ejuſdem Sedis Gipwici conſecretis, eique Benedictionem ac

H. VIII. *omnia Epiſcopalia inſignia conferatis, cæteraque omnia & ſingula quæ veſtro in hac parte incumbunt Officio Paſtorali, juxta modum & formam ſtatuti, in 26 Anno Regni noſtri apud Weſtmonaſterium nuper editi, peragatis.*

Teſte Rege, ſeptimo die Martii, 1536.

i. e. The King, to the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt, and our well-beloved Counſellor, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, greeting.

Our Reverend Father and Counſellor, *Richard* Biſhop of *Norwich*, hath ſignify'd to us, that his Dioceſe is deſtitute of the Comfort of the Suffragan Biſhop, who us'd to bear a part of his Burden; and therefore by his Letters, under his Great Seal, he hath humbly and devoutly recommended to us the Reverend Fathers, *George*, Abbat of of the Monaſtery of *St. Mary de Leyſton*, and *Thomas Mannynge* Prior of the Monaſtery of *St. Mary de Buſley*, in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*, duly inveſted with the Order of Prieſts, born in lawful Wedlock, attain'd to a proper Age, and Men of great Sagacity both in Spirituals and Temporals, ſo that, as he aſſerts, there is nothing in all the Canons that hinders their being admitted to the Epiſcopal Dignity of a Suffragan; and therefore he prays that we wou'd vouchſafe to nominate one of theſe Perſons thus recommended, to ſome See of a Suffragan Biſhop within the Province of *Canterbury*, and to confer on him the Style, Title, and Dignity of the ſaid See.

We therefore of our ſpecial Grace and mere Motion, do nominate the ſaid Reverend Father *Thomas Mannynge*, &c. one of the ſaid Perſons recommended as above, to be Suffragan

gan Biſhop of the See of *Ipſwich*, in the Dioceſe of *Norwich*, &c. *A.* 1536.

REQUIRING you that ye conſecrate the ſaid Father ſo by us nominated, to be Suffragan Biſhop of the ſaid See of *Ipſwich*, that ye confer the Benediction, and all the Epiſcopal Inſignia upon him; and that ye perform all and every other Duty in this reſpect, which is incumbent on your Paſtoral Office, according to the manner and form of the Act of Parliament, made at *Weſtminſter* in the 26th Year of our Reign.

Sign'd by the King at Weſtminſter, March 7. 1536.

The Places recorded for Sees of the Suffragan Biſhops are, *Sees of Suffragan Biſhops.* 560.

Thetford.	*Shrewſbury.*
Ipſwich.	*Briſtol.*
Colcheſter.	*Penreth.*
Dover.	*Bridgewater.*
Guildford.	*Nottingham.*
Southampton.	*Grantham.*
Taunton.	*Hull.*
Shaftesbury.	*Huntingdon.*
Malton.	*Cambridge.*
Marlborough.	*Pereth.*
Bedford.	*Berwick.*
Leiceſter.	*St. Germains* in *Cornwall.*
Glouceſter.	The *Iſle of Wight.*

5. A Confirmation of the Abbey of *Winchester*, in purſuance of the Act, which at the ſame time that it gave the King the Monaſteries, whoſe Revenues were under 200 *l.* a Year, put it in the King's Power to declare what *Confirmation of the Abbey of* Winchester. 574.

H. VIII. Monasteries he had a mind to preserve on foot; dated *Aug.* 17. 1536. at *Westminster.*

Carthusians *Renunciation of the Pope.* 588, 599.

6. A Renunciation of the Pope by a Convent of *Carthusians*, as also the Names of ten *Carthusians* who refus'd to take the Oath; dated *May* 18. 1538.

Resignation of Monasteries. 590--595, 603--639.

7. THE Resignation of several Monasteries to the King.

'IN these Resignations, a certain Form was 'observ'd, whereby the Monks confess'd that 'the Perfection of a Christian did not consist 'in unnecessary Ceremonies, in wearing a 'grey Habit, in being girt with a knotted 'Cord, *&c.* and that being dispos'd to lead 'a better Life, they submitted to the King, 'as *supreme Head of the Church*, and abandon'd 'their Monastery to him, *&c.*

Licence for printing the Bible. 649.

8. A Prohibition to print the Bible in *English*, without the Licence of *Thomas Cromwell*; dated *Nov.* 14. 1539. at *Westminster.*

To sell the Lands of Monasteries. 653. 658, 701.

9. A Commission to *Thomas Cromwell*, and others to sell the Lands of Monasteries, at the rate of 20 Years Purchase at least; dated *March* 12. 1540. at *Walden.*

10. SEVERAL other Resignations of Monasteries.

Archdeaconry of Ely *fill'd up.* 705.

11. THE Promotions of *Richard Cox* to the Archdeaconry of *Ely*, vacant by the advancement of *Thomas Thyrleby* to the Bishoprick of *Westminster*; dated *Nov.* 24. 1540. at *Westminster.*

Erection of the Sees of Chester, Gloucester *and* Peterborough. 717 *to* 735

12. ERECTION of the Bishopricks of *Chester*, *Gloucester* and *Peterborough*, in *August* and *Sept.* 1541.

13. A Patent for *Anthony Marlar* to print the Bible in *English*; dated *March* 12. 1542. at *Westminster.*

14. FOUN-

14. FOUNDATION of the Biſhopricks of *Briſtol* and *Oxford*; dated the 4th and 16th of *June* 1542. *A.* 1546.

Sees of Oxford *and* Briſtol *founded.* 748, 754.

15. A Patent for *Richard Grafton*, and *Edward Witchurch* to print the Book of Divine Service; dated at *Weſtminſter Jan.* 28. 1543.

Patent for printing the Book of Divine Service. 766.

IN the remainder of this Year, and in the Year following, there's nothing particular, except ſome Changes made in the Biſhopricks.

16. A Surrender of 66 Colleges to the King, in 1545.

Surrender of more Colleges and Monaſteries. 65 *and* 91 *of* Vol. XV.

17. A Reſignation of divers Monaſteries in 1546.

18. FOUNDATION of *Trinity-College* at *Cambridge*; dated *Dec.* 19. 1546. at *Weſtminſter.*

ARTICLE II. *Of Foreign Affairs.*

TO have a right Notion of *Henry* VIIIth's Tranſactions with the Foreign Powers, from the Year 1534, to his Death, 'tis proper to know what were the Intereſts and Views, not only of *Henry*, but of the Court of *Rome*, *Charles* V. and *Francis* I.

The Intereſts and Aims of the Pope.

AFTER the great Provocation given by *Clement* VII. and the Reſentment expreſs'd by *Henry* and his Parliament, there was no room to renew the Treaty for an Accommodation betwixt the two Courts. But tho the Pope had made a Sacrifice of *Henry* to the Emperor; yet he did not think it his Intereſt to puſh that Affair any farther. He expected therefore according to the ordinary Method of the Court of *Rome*, that Time might furniſh him with an Opportunity, either to reduce *Henry* by Force, or to reconcile him by Favours and Careſſes.

H. VIII.

Of the Emperor.

CHARLES V. had acted very generously in the Affair of the Divorce, by preferring the Interests of his Aunt, Queen *Catherine*, to his own. If he had chose to have abandon'd that Princess, 'tis very apparent that he wou'd have drawn off *Henry* from the Interest of *France*, and wou'd by that means have been screen'd from any Danger which he had to fear from *Francis* I. whereas by directly opposing *Henry*'s Design in the matter of the Divorce, he made the Union between *France* and *England* the stronger, and thereby laid very great Obstructions in the Execution of the Designs which he had form'd with respect to *Germany*. Therefore 'tis certain, that in this he did not act like a Politician; tho it can only be imputed to the Obligation he thought himself under in point of Honour, to support the Queen his Aunt.

Of the K. *of* France.

ALTHO by the Treaty of *Cambray*, *Francis* receded from his Pretensions to the Duchy of *Milan*, we may be sure it was against his Will, and that he hop'd one Day or other to find out a Pretext for evading that Article of the Treaty. 'Twas with this View that he marry'd the Duke of *Orleans* his second Son with *Catherine de Medicis*; that he kept up an Understanding and secret Treaties with the Protestants of *Germany*, and with the *Turks*, and that he labour'd to preserve the Friendship of the King of *England*, that he might have recourse to it in case of need.

Of Henry VIII.

HENRY VIII. who imagin'd that at last the Court of *Rome* wou'd grant him a Sentence of Divorce, finding himself depriv'd of all Hopes of it, thought of nothing so much as how to be reveng'd of the Pope, and at the same time to secure himself in the Enjoyment of

of the Supremacy, which he had extorted from the Clergy. He propos'd alſo to make himſelf every Day more abſolute in his Kingdom, by putting his Domeſtick Affairs into ſuch a ſtate of Confuſion, as wou'd render him Lord and Maſter of the Lives and Fortunes of the majority of his Subjects. Yet he had two things to fear, to which he was very attentive: The firſt was the Rebellion of his People; and the ſecond the Efforts which the Emperor might probably make, in order for the Execution of the Pope's Sentence: And it made him extremely uneaſy when he conſider'd that it was not impoſſible but the Pope, the Emperor, and *France* might unite againſt him, and draw the King of *Scotland* into their Alliance. This it was that made him temporiſe with the Emperor, and cautious of giving him any new Cauſe of Complaint. He behav'd in the like manner to the King of *Scotland* his Nephew, and at the ſame time endeavour'd to keep up a good Union with *France*, and fed the *German* Proteſtants with Hopes of powerful Succours, in order to put them upon Action, in Caſe he ſhou'd be forc'd to it by any attacks from the Emperor. Such was the ſituation of the Affairs of theſe four Powers, immediately after *Clement* VII. had pronounc'd his Sentence againſt *Henry*. A. 1534

His Negociation with Francis.

In the Year 1534. *Henry* deſir'd to make an Alliance with *Francis* I. even ſtricter than the laſt. But *Francis* wou'd not venture to make an open League for fear of offending the Pope. Therefore he endeavour'd to perſuade *Henry*, that the beſt way for him to ſecure himſelf againſt the Emperor's Attacks, wou'd be ſecretly to aſſiſt the Proteſtants of *Germany* with a good Sum of Money. *Henry* did not diſapprove of this Expedient, and he deſir'd more-

H. VIII. moreover, that *Francis* wou'd attack *Navarre*, while he himself made a powerful Diversion in *Flanders*. But *Francis* had other Views which did not permit him to engage to carry his Arms into *Navarre*. He aim'd at the Recovery of the Duchy of *Milan*, under pretence of being reveng'd on *Francis Sforza*, who to do the Emperor a Pleasure, had put to Death a *Milanese* Gentleman nam'd *Merveille*, who was a secret Agent or Envoy of *France*. *Francis* I. demanded Satisfaction for this Affront, and was not sorry that the Duke refus'd it, because it gave him a pretence to fall upon the Duchy of *Milan*. Accordingly he rais'd a considerable Army, and demanded Passage of the Duke of *Savoy*, who deny'd him for fear of offending the Emperor; upon which refusal *Francis* declar'd War against him; but the Death of *Clement* VII. and the Exaltation of *Paul* III. caus'd some Alteration in the King of *France*'s Measures.

French *Envoy put to Death at* Milan.

Francis I. *declares War against* Milan *and* Savoy.

HENRY cou'd not have wish'd for a more lucky Incident than the Rupture betwixt the King of *France* and the Duke of *Savoy*, because it was very apparent that the Emperor wou'd not suffer the Duke to be oppress'd, and that consequently *England* wou'd be quiet while the Emperor and *France* were at War. But on the other hand, *Charles* V. did what he cou'd to break his Measures, by seeking to embroil him with *Francis*. For this end he authoriz'd a Proposal to be made to *Francis* for a Marriage betwixt his third Daughter, and Prince *Philip* Infante of *Spain*, and another betwixt the Duke of *Orleans*, and *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* by *Catherine* of *Arragon*, with an Offer of the Duchy of *Milan* for the Duke of *Orleans*, after the Death of *Sforza*, who had no Children, and

Emperor's Proposal to him of Marriages.

and a Penſion of 100000 Crowns till he was put in poſſeſſion of the Duchy. *Francis* I. eaſily diſcover'd the Emperor's Artifice, who having a deſign to carry his Arms into *Africa*, wanted to amuſe him by this Negotiation, and to ſtop his Efforts againſt the Duke of *Savoy*. But thinking to make an Advantage of this Propoſal, he caus'd it to be imparted in Confidence to *Henry*, by Admiral *Chabot* Lord of *Brion*. It appear'd in the ſequel, that the View of *Francis* was to poſſeſs *Henry* with the Fear of an Union betwixt *France* and the Emperor, and that he hop'd this wou'd prevail with *Henry* to excuſe him from his yearly Penſion of 100000 Crowns. But *Henry* was too cunning to be caught in the Snare, and on the contrary told the Admiral in plain Terms, that he expected *Francis* ſhou'd pay him the Arrears of the Penſion, with all the other Sums that he ow'd him.

A. 1535.

Henry's demands of the Arrears of the Penſion due from Fran.

FRANCIS I. miſcarrying in his Project, attack'd the Duke of *Savoy*, and in the firſt Campaign of 1535, rob'd him of *Savoy* and *la Breſſe*; during this *Charles* V. was engag'd in an Expedition in *Africa*, where he took the Fort of *Gonletta* and *Tunis*, and re-eſtabliſh'd *Muley Haſſem* who had been expell'd by *Haradin Barberoſſa*.

Francis *falls upon Savoy.*

Emperor's Expedition to Africa.

MEAN time, as *Henry* well knew that as ſoon as the Expedition to *Africa* was over, the Emperor wou'd be at Leiſure for other Deſigns, he endeavour'd to frighten him by pretending to enter into a ſtrict Union with the League of *Smalcald*. For this purpoſe he ſent *Edward Fox* to *Germany*, while *Francis* I. kept the Lord *de Langeais* there with the ſame View. But it was no eaſy matter to form a ſincere Union between thoſe two Monarchs,

Henry's *Embaſſy to the Proteſtants of* Germany.

and

H. VIII. and the Princes of the League. The latter had no other View but to maintain the Liberty of their Religion, whereas all that the former meant, was to embarrass the Emperor by fomenting Troubles in *Germany*, without any regard to the Interests of the Protestant Religion, which they openly persecuted in their own Dominions.

Death of Q. Catherine *and the D. of* Milan.

THE Death of Queen *Catherine* which happen'd in the beginning of the Year 1536, together with that of *Francis Sforza* a Duke of *Milan*, who dy'd the *October* before, produc'd some Alteration in the Affairs of the three Monarchs. *Charles* V. improv'd these two Events to his Advantage for breaking the Measures of the Kings of *France* and *England*, and hindring them from uniting heartily against him. On the one Hand he made a Proposal to *Henry* for generously forgetting every thing that pass'd betwixt them relating to the Affair of the Divorce, and for renewing their antient Alliance. But as he was afraid of being taken at his Word, he clogg'd it with such Conditions as left him at Liberty to protract it as *far as he shou'd think it proper*. On the other hand he made a secret Promise to *Francis* I. to give the Duchy of *Milan* to one of his Sons. *Francis* was taken with the Bait, and as he scarce doubted of the Success of the Negotiation, his Regards and Zeal for *Henry* abated in Proportion. But *Henry* plainly perceiv'd that the Emperor's View was only to make a Division betwixt him and *France*; and as he had an Apprehension that he wou'd gain his Point at last, he made an Overture to the League of *Smalcald*, tho with very little Success, for the Reasons I hinted above. Besides, some Do-

Charles V. *proposes an Alliance to* Henry, *and at the same time promises the Duchy of* Milan *to the* French *King's Son.*

Henry *offers to join with the League of* Smalcalde.

mestick

meſtick Affairs, of which I ſhall treat in another place, interrupted his Negotiations. *A.* 1538.

The Emperor takes the Field against Francis, and lays Siege to Marſeilles, but is forc'd to raiſe it.

DURING that time, the Emperor repairing to *Rome*, declaim'd very much in preſence of the Pope and Cardinals againſt *Francis* I. and highly aggravated the Injuries which he pretended to have receiv'd from him. This broke off the Negotiation that was on foot for the Duchy of *Milan*, and not long after, the Emperor put himſelf at the Head of an Army, and marching into *Provence*, laid Siege to *Marſeilles*, but was oblig'd to raiſe the Siege with Precipitation and Diſhonour, and then went to ſpend ſome time in *Spain*.

His Truce with Fr.

THE War betwixt the Emperor and *France* continued in 1537. but was interrupted in the Courſe of this Year by a Truce of 10 Months, which in 1538. was, at the Pope's Mediation, follow'd with a Truce of 10 Years, concluded at *Nice*. Upon this, *Henry* ſeem'd inclinable to unite in good earneſt with the League of *Smalcald*, that they might ſupport him againſt the Emperor. He had the more reaſon to be afraid of this formidable Enemy, becauſe ſince the Truce of *Nice*, *Francis* I. entirely neglected him, and ſeem'd in no wiſe diſpos'd to ſupport his Intereſts in caſe of need. Beſides, the Emperor ſtill amus'd the King of *France* with the hopes of giving the Inveſtiture of the Duchy of *Milan* to one of his Sons. This made *Francis* exceeding cautious how he diſoblig'd him, and very ſhy of *Henry*, of whom he had now no longer Occaſion; which Conduct of his ſo provok'd *Henry*, that he bluntly demanded the four Years Arrears of the Penſion due to him from that Crown.

Henry *demands the Arrears of his Penſion due from* Fr.

IN

H. VIII.

He courts the Smalcald *Leag. again in vain.*

In 1539, *Henry* again courted the Princes of the *Smalcald* League, but without Succeſs. Thoſe Princes kept ſtill upon their Guard, being ſenſible that his only Aim was to awe the Emperor by ſuch a Negotiation, and not to unite heartily with them for the ſupport of their Religion, of which he made very little Account.

Emperor goes to Paris, *and makes the King a Promiſe, which he broke as ſoon as he arriv'd in the* Netherlands.

After the Truce of *Nice*, the Union betwixt the Emperor and *Francis* I. ſeem'd to be very ſincere on both ſides, inſomuch that *Charles* V. going to *Ghent* to ſuppreſs an Inſurrection there, paſs'd thro' *France* upon the King's bare Parole, and arriv'd the firſt of *January* 1540 at *Paris*. While he ſtay'd there, he poſitively promis'd *Francis* to grant the Duchy of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, but as ſoon as he came into the *Netherlands*, he found a ſhift to evade his Promiſe. This occaſion'd a freſh quarrel betwixt thoſe two Monarchs, which was very agreeable to *Henry*, becauſe it ſecur'd him from the Attacks of the Emperor.

Francis *prepares War againſt him.*

Mean time *Francis* I. being reſolv'd to be reveng'd, made great Preparations for War againſt the Emperor in 1541, and in order to give him a powerful Diverſion, he endeavour'd to bring the *Turks* upon him in *Hungary*. On the other hand, the Emperor to fruſtrate his Meaſures, made him believe that he wou'd give the *Netherlands* to the Duke of *Orleans*, and erect them into a Kingdom.

Emperor promiſes to erect the Netherlands *into a Kingdom for the D. of* Orleans.

At the ſame time he caus'd it to be inſinuated at the *Ottoman* Porte, that this Treaty was juſt on the Point of being concluded, in order to hinder *Solyman* from giving Ear to the Propoſals of *France*. But at length *Francis* I. perceiving his Artifice, ſent away two Ambaſſadors, the one to *Venice*, the other to *Conſtantinople*,

nople, to inform the *Venetians* and the *Turks* of it; but as they were going down the *Po*, they were both murder'd by order of the Marquis *de Guaſt*, Governor of *Milan*; which was a freſh cauſe of Quarrel. *A.* 1542. *Murder of 2 French Ambaſſadors.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the Emperor's Artifice, the *Turks* enter'd *Hungary*, oblig'd *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* to raiſe the Siege of *Buda*, and won a Battle over the *Germans*. *Turks ſucceſs in Hungry.*

AT the ſame time *Charles* V. made another Expedition into *Africa*, which was attended with very ill Succeſs to him; for part of his Fleet being diſpers'd by a violent Tempeſt, he was oblig'd to put to Sea again without doing any thing. *Emperor's unſucceſsful Expedition to Africa.*

IN 1542. *Francis* ſent five Armies into the Field to attack the Emperor in ſeveral places at once. But the Advantage he gain'd did not anſwer his Expectation nor Expence. *Francis attacks him in 5 places.*

THE next Year *Henry* being reconcil'd with the Emperor, concluded a League with him againſt *France*. He complain'd that *Francis* I. neglected to pay him the yearly Penſion according to Engagement, and that he had not faithfully executed the Treaties which they had made together; from whence he inferr'd that he was ſtill a Debtor to him for thoſe Sums, from which he was acquitted only on this expreſs Condition, that he wou'd religiouſly execute thoſe Treaties. He added moreover, as a freſh Cauſe of Complaint, that *Francis* I. had done his utmoſt to deſtroy the *Engliſh* Faction in *Scotland*, and to engage the two Nations in a Quarrel. The Concluſion of the League betwixt the Emperor and *Henry* was retarded a long time by this difficulty. The Emperor inſiſted that *Henry* ſhou'd *Henry's Reconciliation and Alliance with the Emperor againſt France.*

by

A. VIII. by an authentick Act own the Legitimacy of his Daughter *Mary*, to which *Henry* wou'd by no means hearken. At length this Obſtacle was remov'd by *Henry*'s verbal Promiſe to give *Mary* a Rank in the Succeſſion to the Crown; but he wou'd not conſent to the inſerting of this Article in the Treaty.

Proſecution of the War between the Emperor and Francis.

DURING this Year, the War betwixt the Emperor and *France* went on with Vigour. *Francis* had ſome Advantage at firſt, but towards the cloſe of the Campaign, the Emperor arriving in the *Netherlands* with a very conſiderable Force, ſtopp'd his Enemy's Progreſs.

Francis *recals his Troops from* Italy.

CHARLES and *Henry* had form'd a Project to attack *France* during the Campaign of 1544, with an Army of 40000 Men each, the one in *Champagne*, the other in *Picardy*, and then to join together in the Neighborhood of *Paris*. This was the Reaſon that the King of *France* was oblig'd to recal the beſt part of his Troops from *Piedmont*, tho they had gain'd the Victory of *Ceriſoles* there under the Command of the Duke of *Enghien*, who by that means was in a fair way to be Maſter of the Duchy of *Milan*.

THE Project of the Emperor and *Henry* was not executed in the manner it had been concerted. *Henry* being very early in his Preparations, ſent part of his Troops againſt *Scotland*, of which more hereafter, hoping that this Expedition wou'd come to an Iſſue before the Emperor wou'd be ready to join him. During this, the Emperor made himſelf Maſter of *Luxemburg*, and then beſieg'd *St. Didier*, which took him up above 6 Weeks. Mean time the Duke of *Norfolk* having join'd the Count *de Bure* with a Body of *Engliſh*

Emperor takes Luxemburg.

Sieges of St. Didier *and* Monſtreuil.

Troops they laid Siege to *Monſtreuil*. *Henry* arriving in *Picardy* at the ſame time with the reſt of his Army, and hearing that the Emperor was beſieging *Didier*, ſuſpected his *bonâ fide*, and that he deſign'd to let him march alone to *Paris*, on purpoſe that he might be mortify'd. For this Reaſon he undertook the Siege of *Boulogne*, from whence a miſunderſtanding aroſe betwixt thoſe two Monarchs, ſo that each was for making his ſeparate Peace with *France*. The Emperor was beforehand with *Henry*, and ſign'd his particular Treaty at *Creſſy* on the 19th of *September*. By good Luck for *Henry*, he made himſelf Maſter of *Boulogne* ſeveral Days before, and by that means he had time to retire to *Calais*, and to avoid the *Dauphin*, who made long marches to come up with him, and narrowly miſs'd of retaking the City of *Boulogne*, before they had time to repair the Breaches.

A. 1546.

Of Boulogne.

Treaty of Creſſy.

Henry's Conqueſt of Boulogne.

The next Year which was 1545. *Francis* I. made a prodigious Effort both by Sea and Land for the Recovery of *Boulogne*, but cou'd not ſucceed; the Blame of which was laid upon the Marſhal *de Biez*, who commanded the Army of *France*. Nevertheleſs the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd very great Damage from the *French*, by the Deſcents which they made upon the *Iſle* of *Wight*, &c.

Deſcents of the French Fleets upon the Iſle of Wight, &c.

At laſt the two Kings perceiving that this War only tended to weaken one another, and that they cou'd not hope to reap any great Advantage from it, reſolv'd upon a Peace which was ſign'd the 7th of *June* 1546.

This Peace reſtor'd the good Underſtanding betwixt *France* and *England*. *Francis* ſtood in need of *Henry*, becauſe he was on the point of

Peace with France.

H. VIII. of renewing the War with the Emperor. It had been agreed by the Treaty of *Cressy*, that the Duke of *Orleans* shou'd marry one of the Emperor's Daughters, and have the Duchy of *Milan*, or the Earldom of *Flanders* with her as a Portion. But this Prince dying about a Year after the signing of the Treaty, the Emperor thought himself quit of his Engagement, and put *Francis* I. to the Trouble of obtaining by a new War, what had been promis'd him by a Treaty of Peace.

Emperor falls upon the German *Protestants.*

MEAN time the Emperor finding himself deliver'd from the War with *France*, made a League with the Pope, and attack'd the Protestants of *Germany*, over whom he gain'd great Advantages, while neither *Francis* I. nor *Henry* VIII. were much concern'd for their Interest.

IN the remaining part of the XIVth Tome of the *Fœdera*, there are few Acts that can be reduc'd under the Article of Foreign Affairs. The chief are these,

Leagues with the Emperor against Fr. 768. 777.

1. THE League betwixt *Henry* VIII. and the Emperor, against the King of *France* an Ally of the *Turks*; dated *Feb.* 11. 1542.

2. *CHARLES* Vth's Commission to treat with *Henry* for a more strict Alliance; dated *May* 2. 1542. at *Valladolid.*

3. ANOTHER for treating about Ways and Means to invade *France*; dated *Dec.* 7. 1542.

4. DECLARATION of the Peace concluded *December* 31. 1542.

Treaty with the Emperor. His Oath and Commission confirming it. 777.

5. TREATY betwixt the Emperor and *Henry*: dated *Feb.* 11. 1543.

6. THE Emperor's Oath to observe it; dated the 8th of *April* following.

HIS Commiſſion to confirm the Treaty; dated the 12th of *April*. *A.* 1545.

THE Acts we meet with of this Claſs, and in this Period, in the XVth Tome of the *Fœdera*, are chiefly theſe, Fœdera, *Vol.* XV.

1. A Commiſſion to Sir *John Wallop*, to command the Troops deſign'd for the aſſiſtance of the Emperor; dated *July* 7. 1543. at *Weſtminſter*. *Sir* John Wallop's *Commiſſion* 1.

2. A Commiſſion to the Duke of *Norfolk* to command the Rear-Guard of the Army deſign'd againſt *France*; to the Lord *Ruſſel* to command the Van-guard; and to the Duke of *Suffolk* to command the main Body. They are all dated *July* 9. 1543. at *Weſtminſter*. *D. of* Norfolk's, *Ld* Ruſſel's, *and the D. of* Suffolk's. 40 *to* 42.

3. THE King's Letter to the Queen, giving her an account of the Siege of *Boulogne*; dated *Sept.* 8. 1544. from the Camp before *Boulogne*. *King's Letter to the Q. about the Siege of* Boulogne. 50.

4. JOURNAL of the King's Campaign, and particularly of the Siege of *Boulogne*. *Journal of his Campaign.* 52.

5. DIVERS Orders and Commiſſions relating to the War with *France*.

6. INSTRUCTIONS to *William Paget* for the Negociation of the Truce with *France*, by the Mediation of the Envoys of the League of *Smalcald*; dated *Dec.* 26. 1545. at *Hampton-Court*. *Inſtructions touching the Treaty of Truce with* Fran. 82.

THESE were the four principal Articles.

1. THAT he do his utmoſt to hinder the *Scots* from being included in the Truce.

2. THAT if poſſible, the Truce may not commence till the 1ſt of *March*.

H. VIII. 3. THAT unleſs the King of *France* agree to more honourable Terms, 'tis not proper to ſend for the *Germans* to another Congreſs.

4. THAT a Penſion of 600 Crowns may be offer'd to *Bruno* one of the Mediators, provided that he ſign a Bond to ſerve the King diligently, and to inform him privately of the of Affairs in *Germany*.

Treaty of Peace with her. 93. 7. A Treaty of Peace betwixt *France* and *England*, and for the reſtoring of *Boulogne* to *France*; dated *June* 7. 1546. at the Town of *Campen*, on the Confines of *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*.

SOME of the chief Articles of it were as follow,

'THAT the Taxes impos'd by either of the 'two Kings on the Subjects of the other, be 'taken off.

'THAT the King of *France* ſhall pay the 'King of *England* all that he owes him, as well 'under the Title of the Penſion, purſuant to 'the Treaty of *Moore*, dated *Auguſt* 30. 1525. 'as by the Treaty of perpetual Peace, dated '*April* 30. 1527. for the Salt of *Brouage*, valued 'at 10000 Crowns *per Annum*.'

PRAY mark, that the *French* pretended that the Salt Annuity was to expire at *Henry*'s Death, and that this Diſpute not being decided, it was agreed by this Treaty to refer it to Arbitrators.

'THAT *Francis* I. ſhall pay the King of *Eng*'land at the Feaſt of *St. Michael* 1554. two 'Millions of Crowns of Gold of the Sun, as 'well for the Arrears of the Penſions, as for 'the Charge he has been at in the Fortifica-

'tions

'tions of *Boulogne*, on which condition he *A.* 1546.
'ſhall be excus'd from the Payment of all the
'Arrears due to the 1ſt of *May* 1546. with
'an expreſs exception of the Sums contain'd in
'the following Article.

'THE King of *England* inſiſting that the
'King of *France* owes him 512022 Crowns,
'according to his Bond of *Jan.* 29, 1529;
'and the King of *France* pretending to be
'diſcharg'd from that Debt; 'tis agreed to
'take four Civilians for Arbitrators, who are
'not Subjects of either of the two Kings.

'THAT the King of *England* ſhall keep
'*Boulogne* for eight Years, and reſtore it in
'the Year 1554, after the Payment of the
'two Millions, and the other Sums above-
'mention'd; if the Queſtion be decided in his
'favour.

'THAT during thoſe eight Years, no For-
'tification ſhall be erected at *Boulogne*, nor in
'its Territory.

'THAT the *Scots* ſhall be included in the
'Peace; and that *Henry* ſhall not attack them,
'unleſs they give him freſh Cauſe.'

8. THE Oath of *Francis* I. to obſerve it; dated *Auguſt* 1, 1546. Fr. *King's Oath.* 98.

9. THE Emperor's Ratification touching the Explanation of certain Articles of the League with *England* of *Feb.* 11. 1542; dated *Jan.* 31. 1546, at *Utrecht*. *Emperor's Ratification of the League with* England. 118.

'TWAS agreed, that the Articles which
'relate to the War againſt *France*, ſhall be
'deem'd as aboliſh'd.'

ARTICLE III. *Affairs with* Scotland.

THE Truce which had been concluded for a Year betwixt *England* and *Scotland* in 1533, *Peace wieh* Scotland.

H. VIII. was converted on the 11th of *May* 1534, into a Peace which was to laſt till the Death of one of the two Kings. By this Treaty, the *Douglaſſes* were allow'd to ſtay in *England*.

NOTWITHSTANDING this Peace, *Henry* was ſtill diffident of his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, whom he had us'd ſo ill during his Minority. He knew alſo that the Emperor had been endeavouring to gain him; and that he would have done it effectually, if *Francis* had not prevented his Deſign, by procuring the Peace betwixt *England* and *Scotland*. This put *Henry* upon perſwading the King his Nephew to make the ſame Alterations in *Scotland*, with reſpect to Religion, as himſelf had made in *England*; and to renounce all Obedience to the Pope. For this purpoſe he deſir'd an Interview; to which *James* conſented at firſt, but in a little time after he receiv'd a Brief from the Pope, forbidding him to have any Interview with the King his Uncle. Upon this Pretence he deſir'd to be excus'd from his Engagement.

Pope forbids the K. of Scotland *to hold an Interview with* Hen.

IN 1538, *James* V. marry'd *Mary* of *Lorrain*, Siſter to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal *de Lorrain*.

K. of Scotland's *Marriage and Character.*

HE was a Prince of a mean Genius, very much addicted to Pleaſure, needleſly expenſive, and therefore always under Difficulties. In 1541, there were two Parties in *Scotland*; one for the King of *England* and the Reformation, while the other did their utmoſt to hinder any Alteration in Religion, and to oppoſe the *Engliſh* Party. Each of theſe endeavour'd to ſecure the King in their Intereſt. The one ſhew'd him what an Augmentation it would be to his Revenues, if, like the King

Two Factionst here.

his Uncle, he would but renounce the Pope and ſuppreſs the Monaſteries. The other ſet before his Eyes the vaſt Gain that would accrue to him by the Forfeiture of the Eſtates of the Hereticks, who were already very numerous in the Kingdom, if he would but reſolve to proſecute 'em with Severity. The King follow'd the Advice of the latter; and from thence enſued a cruel Perſecution over all *Scotland*. *Henry* perceiving that the King his Nephew ſuffer'd himſelf to be led by the Clergy, was apprehenſive that he would at length make an Alliance with his Enemies, and ſupport the Malecontents of *England*, and particularly thoſe of the North, who had already taken Arms, as we ſhall find in the next Article. Therefore he wiſh'd once more to have a Conference with him, not without Hopes of gaining him, and that he would be govern'd by other Maxims. *James* no ſooner receiv'd the Propoſal but he accepted it, and promis'd to go and meet the King his Uncle at *York*; whither *Henry* went to expect him: But *James* was not ſo good as his Word; which ſo provok'd *Henry*, that he reſolv'd to make War upon him.

A. 1537.

Perſecution of the Proteſtants in Scotland.

James V. *promiſes an Interview with* Henry, *but diſappoints him, for which* H. *reſolves on a War.*

HE put this Reſolution in practice *Anno* 1542, on pretence of a Breach of the Peace, and of an old Diſpute that ſtill ſubſiſted between the two Kingdoms, with reſpect to ſome Lands ſituate on the Frontiers. But his true Aim in this War, was to force the King of *Scotland* to follow his Counſels in Affairs of Religion, for fear of being oppreſs'd at a time when he could not expect any Aſſiſtance from the King of *France*, who was employ'd elſewhere. I ſhall not enter here into the Detail of this War, in which *Henry* appointed

War with Scotland.

H. VIII. the Duke of *Norfolk* General. It will ſuffice to declare in a few Words, that what with the ill Conduct of King *James*, and a Panick with which the *Scots* were ſeiz'd, their Army was entirely routed. The *Engliſh* took a great Number of Priſoners; particularly ſeven *Scots* Noblemen of Diſtinction, and above 200 Gentlemen; which broke the Heart of *James* V. who died on the 14th of *December*, ſeven Days after the Birth of *Mary* his Daughter; to whom he left the Crown, having loſt two Sons not long before.

Defeat of the Scots, *and Death of their K.*

THE Death of the King of *Scotland* put King *Henry* upon a Project for uniting the two Kingdoms, by the Marriage of Prince *Edward* his Son with the young Queen of *Scotland*; which Project having been communicated to the *Scots* Lords that were Priſoners at *London*, they approv'd of it, and promis'd to contribute their utmoſt to bring it about: after which they were releas'd upon their Parole of Honour.

Henry's *Project for a Union with* Scotland.

IN 1543, a great part of the *Scots* Nobility having either periſh'd in the laſt Defeat, or being Captives in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, Cardinal *Beton*, Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, undertook to make an Advantage of the Confuſion which there was in the Kingdom, and to ſet himſelf up for Regent, by Virtue of a pretended Will of the late King. But *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, to whom the Regency belong'd by Birthright, having prov'd the Forgery of the Will produc'd by the Cardinal, was declar'd Regent, and ſupported chiefly by the Priſoners that had been releas'd in *England*, and by the People that were return'd into *Scotland*.

Cardinal Beton *trumps up a ſham Will, by which he claims the Regency.*

E. of Arran *declared Regent.*

Nor

NOT long after, *Henry* caus'd the Marriage of the Prince his Son with the Queen of *Scotland*, to be propos'd to the Regent and the States: His Propoſal was accepted, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Cardinal *Beton*, and the Queen Mother; and a Treaty was concluded thereupon, which was ſign'd the firſt of *July* 1543. But theſe Meaſures were broke by the Intrigues of the Cardinal and the Queen Dowager, who form'd ſo conſiderable a Party that the Regent's Authority went for nothing. Nor did they only oppoſe the Regent, but they alſo form'd a Project to ſupplant him, and to take the Government into their own Hands. For this end, they prevail'd with the King of *France* to ſend *Matthew Steuart*, Earl of *Lenox* into *Scotland*, to ſet him up againſt the Regent, and to be the Head of their Party, and in order to engage *Steuart* the more heartily in their Intereſts, they gave him hopes of marrying the Queen Dowager, and of ſucceeding alſo to the Crown, if the young Queen ſhou'd die.

A. 1543.

Treaty concluded for the Marriage of Prince Edw. *to the Q. of* Scots.

Cardinal Betons's *Faction ſet up the E. of* Lenox *againſt the Regent.*

THE Earl of *Lenox* arriving in *Scotland*, the Regent was for ſecuring the Perſon of the young Queen, leſt ſhe ſhould fall into the Hands of his Enemies. But *Lenox* having quickly aſſembled 4000 Men, repair'd to the young Queen, and broke the Regent's meaſures, for which reaſon the Regent finding it was in vain for him to make longer Reſiſtance, chang'd both his Party and Religion, and put himſelf abſolutely under the Direction of the Queen and the Cardinal, who by that means became Maſters of the Government in the Regent's Name. Then the firſt thing they had to do was to find ways and means to ſend back the Earl of *Lenox* to *France*, becauſe he

The Regent puts himſelf under the Cardinal's Direction, whoſe Faction diſguſt him and provoke him to take Arms.

H. VIII. was of no longer uſe to them in *Scotland*. To ſucceed in this deſign, they inſinuated to *Francis* I. by means of the Princes of *Lorrain*, who were Brothers to the Queen Mother, that this Lord was an Enemy to his Intereſts; and thereby they cut off thoſe Supplies of Money which had been promis'd him by *Francis* I. *Lenox* being diſguſted at this unworthy treatment of him, reſolv'd to be reveng'd, for which end he took Arms, and made ſome Efforts, but at laſt was oblig'd to make a diſadvantageous Peace, for want of Money to carry on the War. Thus the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal remain'd in ſole poſſeſſion of the Government, and *Henry* perceiving to his Mortification, that by this means the Treaty he had made with *Scotland* wou'd not be executed, and that the method of Negotiation wou'd be to little purpoſe, was determin'd at laſt to make War upon the *Scots*, in order to oblige them by force of Arms to execute the Treaty.

Henry *ſends an Army to* Scotland, *where he might have made a Conqueſt of the whole Kingdom.*

HENRY having rais'd an Army in 1544, againſt *France*, caus'd part of it to march to *Scotland*, under the Command of the Earl of *Hertford*, and *John Dudley* Baron of *Liſle* the Admiral. At firſt this Army made great Progreſs in *Scotland*, and actually took poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh*, the Queen and the Cardinal having taken no manner of Precaution to defend the Kingdom, ſo that with this Army *Henry* might have eaſily conquer'd it. But as he had occaſion for his Troops in *France*, whither he deſign'd to go in Perſon; ſo his Aim was only to intimidate the *Scots*, and to oblige them by the Terror of his Arms to execute the Marriage Treaty, which however did not ſucceed. In this War the Earl of *Lenox* ſided with the King of *England*, and even made

E. of Lenox *ſides with* Henry.

Con-

Conventions with him, by which he engag'd to deliver up the Town of *Dumbarton* to him; for which Reaſon all his Friends and Party were perſecuted by the Queen, the Regent, and the Cardinal, after the *Engliſh* Troops were with-drawn. But another Invaſion of the *Engliſh*, who tho but few in number, took *Jedburg*, *Kelſo* and *Coldingham*, put a ſtop to their Proceedings, and forc'd them to raiſe an Army, which by reaſon of a panick Terror in the Regent who commanded it, diſpers'd of its own accord, and gave the *Engliſh* an opportunity to make a great Progreſs. *A.* 1546. *His Friends perſecuted by the Cardinal, &c.* *The Perſecution diverted by another Invaſion from* England.

In the Year 1545, *Francis* I. having ſent ſome Troops to *Scotland*, the *Scots* Army paſs'd the *Tweed* in order to enter *England*, but upon their Intelligence that the Earl of *Hertford* was marching againſt them, they disbanded themſelves and went home. The reſt of the Year was ſpent in the Negotiation of a Peace betwixt *France* and *England*, in which the main difficulty to be got over was *Henry*'s refuſal to have the *Scots* included in it. Scots *Army enters* England, *but diſbands on the approach of the E. of* Hertford. Henry's *Treaty with* Fra.

At length *Henry* giving up this Point, the Peace was ſign'd in 1546, and *Scotland* on certain Conditions was included in the Treaty. Immediately after this, the Queen, the Regent, and the Cardinal perſecuted the Reformed, of whom ſome were condemn'd to be burnt. Among others there was one *Wiſhart* a Miniſter, whom the Cardinal order'd to be burnt before his Window, that he might have the Pleaſure of ſeeing the Execution. They ſay that this Miniſter propheſy'd that this haughty Prelate, as high as he was now, ſhou'd in a few Days be brought as low. Whether there was ſuch a Prediction or not, this is certain that not many Days after, the Cardinal was actually *Perſecution of the reformed in* Scotland. *Cardinal* Beton *murder'd.*

H. VIII. actually aſſaſſinated in his own Houſe, and his Body caſt into the Street, out of the very Window from whence he ſaw the Miniſter burnt.

The Acts in the XIVth Vol. *of the* Fœdera, *which have any relation to the Affairs between* England *and* Scotland, *are theſe.*

K. of Scotland's Treaty with England. 483. 529.

1. THE King of *Scotland*'s full Power to treat of a Peace or Truce with *England*; dated *Feb.* 16. 1534. at *Edinburgh.*

2. THE Treaty of Peace betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, to continue during the Life of the two Kings, and a Year after; dated at *London May* 11. 1534.

Conventions for reſtoring Edrynton Caſtle, *and keeping the* Douglaſſes *Priſoners.* 538. 540, 542.

3. CONVENTIONS by which *Henry* engag'd to reſtore the Caſtle of *Edrynton* to the King of *Scotland*, and *James* permitted *Henry* to keep *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, *George* his Brother, and *Archibald Douglas* their Uncle, Priſoners in *England*; dated as above.

4. THE King of *Scotland*'s Ratification; dated *June* 30. 1534. at *Edinburgh.*

Q. of Scots Treaties of Peace and Marriage with England. 781, 783, 792, 796.

5. A full Power of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, to treat of a Peace with *England*; dated *May* 4. 1543. at *Edinburgh.*

6. ANOTHER to treat of her Marriage with *Edward* Prince of *Wales* of the ſame Date.

7. TREATY of Marriage betwixt *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*; dated *July* 1. 1543. at *Greenwich.*

8. TREATY of Peace between *England* and *Scotland*; dated at *Greenwich* as above.

MARY was at that time about ſix Months old.

The

The chief Acts of this Class and Period in the XVth Tome *of the* Fœdera *are,*

I. A Ratification of the two foregoing Treaties by *Mary*; dated *Aug.* 35. 1543. at *Edinburgh.* Vol. XV. *of the* Fœdera. 4 *and* 5.

II. A Commiſſion from the Earls of *Lenox* and *Glencairn*, to treat in their Name with the King of *England*; dated *April* 8. 1544. at *Dumbarton.* *The Treaty of the Earls of* Lenox *and* Glencairn *with* England. 19. 22.

III. A Convention betwixt *Henry* VIII. and the Earls of *Lenox* and *Glencairn*; dated at *Carliſle May* 17. 1544.

The Engagements of the two Scots *Lords were theſe.*

1. THAT they will cauſe the pure Word of God to be preach'd in their Domains.

2. THAT they will ſerve *Henry* to the utmoſt of their Power, and renounce the Alliance with *France.*

3. THAT they will uſe their Endeavours to put the Queen of *Scotland* into the Hands of *Henry*; or at leaſt to hinder her from being carry'd out of the Kingdom.

4. THAT they will endeavour to have *Henry* declar'd Director and Protector of the Kingdom of *Scotland.*

5. THAT they will give the Biſhop of *Caithneſs* and *William Cunningham* as Hoſtages, into the Hands of the King.

The King's Engagements.

1. THAT the *Engliſh* ſhall do no damage in the Lands of the Earls of *Lenox* and *Glencairn.*

2. THAT

H. VIII. 2. THAT if the King be declar'd Protector of *Scotland*, he will give the Government of the Kingdom to the Earl of *Lenox*, under certain Conditions.

3. THAT he will grant him a Revenue ſuitable to that Dignity.

4. THAT in caſe the young Queen die, *Henry* ſhall ſupport the Right of the Earl of *Lenox* with reſpect to the Crown, in oppoſition to the Earl of *Arran*.

5. THAT he will continue the Penſion to the Earl of *Lenox*; and give one of 1000 Crowns to the Earl of *Glencairn*.

6. THAT the King will give his Conſent to the Marriage of the Earl of *Lenox* to *Margaret Douglas*; provided ſhe agree to it.

MARGARET Douglas *was Niece to* Henry VIII. *being deſcended from the ſecond Marriage of* Margaret *Queen of* Scotland, *to* Archibald Douglas *Earl of* Angus.

29. IV. OTHER Conventions betwixt *Henry* and the Earl of *Lenox*; dated *June* 26, 1544.

Engagements of the Earl of Lenox.

1. THAT he will obſerve the Treaty of *Carliſle*.

2. THAT he will ſerve the King againſt all whomſoever.

3. THAT he will deliver up *Dumbarton* Caſtle to the King.

4. THAT he will deliver up the Iſle of *Bute* to him, and do his utmoſt to make him Maſter of *Roſs* Caſtle in that Iſland.

5. THAT being Governour of *Scotland*, he will do nothing of importance without advertizing the King of it.

6. THAT

6. THAT he will renounce all his general and particular Alliances. A. 1545.

7. THAT he will do his endeavour to put the Queen of *Scotland* into the Hands of the King.

8. THAT he will give to *Margaret Douglas* a certain Jointure, ſpecify'd in the ſaid Article.

The King's Engagements.

1. HE ratifys the Treaty of *Carliſle.*

2. HE Conſents to the Marriage, and promiſes to give the Earl in recompence for his Loſſes in *France,* an Eſtate in Land, in *England,* of the Revenue of 1700 *l. Sterling.*

3. THAT he will give the Earl 500 Men beſides the Gariſon, which he will place in *Dumbarton.*

4. THAT he will make him Governour of *Scotland,* on Condition that he ſhall not call a Parliament without his Conſent.

5. THAT he will give him a good Revenue.

6. THAT he will reward *George Striveling* for the Loſs of the Government of *Dumbarton.*

V. THE Denization of the Earl of *Lenox*; dated *June* 6. 1544. at *Weſtminſter.* *Denization of the E. of* Lenox. 37.

VI. PENSIONS granted to the Earl of *Glencairn,* and his Son, *viz.* 250 *l. Sterling* to the Father, and 125 *l.* to his Son; dated *July* 13. 1544. at *Weſtminſter.* *E. of* Glencairn's *Penſion.* 47.

VII. AN Order to raiſe Troops againſt *Scotland*; dated *May* 2. 1545. at *Weſtminſter.* *Order for Troops againſt* Scotland.

ARTI- 72.

Article IV. *Domeſtick Affairs.*

As the Domeſtick Affairs of the remainder of this Reign have no neceſſary Connection with one another, becauſe they are of a different Nature, I ſhall content my ſelf with a Relation of the moſt material Events under this Head in each Year.

Origin of Henry's *exorbitant Power.*

In the Year 1535, we begin to diſcover that the exorbitant Power which *Henry* VIII. acquir'd over his Subjects, was really owing to Religion. For as the King obſerv'd a certain medium in that reſpect, ſome affected an entire Complaiſance to him on that Score, in order to induce him to puſh the Reformation farther, while others were equally devoted to him for fear that their oppoſition to him wou'd force him to engage with the other Party. Factions, tho generally fatal to States, are nevertheleſs ſometimes advantagious to Sovereigns, if they have but the Skill to make them ſubſervient to their particular Views. This was what *Henry* VIII. was not deficient in, and by this means he acquir'd a Power which no King of *England* had for many Ages.

The Death of *Catherine* of *Arragon* which happen'd in 1536, pav'd the way for a Reconciliation betwixt the Emperor and *Henry*, as was obſerv'd in the firſt Article.

Anne *of* Bolleyn *divorc'd and beheaded.*

About ſix Months after, Queen *Anne* of *Bolleyn* was condemn'd by a Sentence of the Peers, and beheaded. I will not deſcend here into the particulars of this Event, becauſe there are very few Acts in the *Fœdera* that relate to it. The curious may be further inform'd, by conſulting Dr. *Burnet's History of*

the Reformation. It will be sufficient to observe here for the sake of connecting the History of this Period, that before the Queen was executed, the King had dissolv'd his Marriage with her, on pretence that before she was marry'd to him, she had enter'd into some Engagement with an *English* Nobleman; which tho no more than a mere pretence, was sufficient to procure a Divorce. And the very next Day after the Execution, the King marry'd *Jane Seymour*, with whom he had been in Love some time before. *Anne* had a Daughter by the King nam'd *Elizabeth*, who tho declar'd a Bastard, came afterwards to the Crown of *England*. *A.* 1546.

K. marries Jane Seymour.

THE Death of *Anne* of *Bolleyn*, and the Dissolution of her Marriage with the King, reviv'd the Hopes of *Mary*, who was the King's Daughter by his first Wife *Catherine*. She had till then obstinately refus'd to conform to the Acts of Parliament, concerning her Mother's Divorce, and the Affairs of Religion. But after the Death of *Anne*, she judg'd by the Advice of her Friends, that she ought not to miss that opportunity of being reconcil'd with the King her Father. She therefore sign'd a Writing, in which she own'd the King's Supremacy, and the Justice of his Divorce from her Mother, and renounc'd her Obedience to the Pope. This Writing which the King himself prepar'd for her to sign, was the thing that restor'd her to his Favour, but not to the Title and Rank of his lawful Daughter.

Princess Mary owns the King's Supremacy, and the Justice of her Mother's Divorce.

IN a short time after, the Parliament pass'd an Act for repealing that which had pass'd in favour of the King's Children by *Anne* of *Bolleyn*; and after having declar'd the two Daughters which *Henry* had by his two former

H. VIII. mer Marriages, Baſtards, they ſettled the Succeſſion of the Crown on the Children that the King might have by *Jane Seymour*, or any other Woman that he ſhou'd marry for the future. The Parliament not only gave the King this Proof of their Complaiſance to him, but alſo gave him a Power to ſettle the Succeſſion himſelf in ſuch manner as he ſhou'd think fit, by a Will to be ſign'd with his own Hand, or by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. By this means they empower'd him to leave the Crown to either of the two Daughters whom they had juſt declar'd illegitimate. But whatever the King ſignify'd a Deſire to have done, he was ſure of the Parliament's Compliance.

The Settlement of the Succeſſion by Parliament.

King's Quarrel with Cardinal Pole.

In this Year we find out the Spring of that Broil betwixt the King and Cardinal *Pole*, who was then at *Rome*. This Cardinal was the Son of *Richard de la Pole*, and was conſequently of the *York* Family, by the Mother-ſide, and near a-kin to *Henry*. Some have advanc'd that his Aim was to ruin the King, by robbing him of the Affection of his Subjects, and then to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, in order to aſcend the Throne with her. Be this as it will, he was not ſparing of his Pen to laſh the Conduct of the King, who conceiv'd a Hatred againſt him, of which he made his whole Family feel the Effects. But I ſhall ſay no more on this Head, becauſe there are few Acts in the *Fœdera* that allude to it.

Rebellions in Lincolnſhire *and* Yorkſhire.

There was a Rebellion this Year in *Lincolnſhire*, which was very eaſily quaſh'd, by a Pardon which the King granted to the Rebels, but was ſoon follow'd by another of much greater Conſequence in *Yorkſhire*. It was upon the Score of Religion, and the King was very much harraſs'd by it; for he had but few

Troops

Troops on Foot, whereas the Rebels who were commanded by one *Aske*, had a numerous Army, and had ſeiz'd *Pontefract*, *Hull*, and *York*. The Duke of *Norfolk* who commanded the King's Army, was twice in danger of being defeated, but at length found means to pacify the Rebels, by promiſing them certain Conditions, to which the King engag'd himſelf, tho afterwards he did not think proper to perform them. *A.* 1538.

Another Rebellion. IN the Year 1537, there was another Rebellion which did not give the King ſo much Trouble as the laſt, and was ſeverely puniſh'd. *Jane Seymour* was brought to Bed in *October* of a Prince, who was nam'd *Edward*; but ſhe dy'd in a few Days after. *Edward Seymour* her Brother was about this time created Earl of *Hertford*. Jane Seymour's *delivery of a Prince, and Death.*

Further Inſtances of Henry's *Reſentment againſt Cardinal* Pole. THE King's Reſentment againſt Cardinal *Pole* was prodigiouſly heighten'd in 1538. upon the Intelligence he receiv'd, that all the Memoirs drawn up againſt the King in *England*, were addreſs'd to the ſaid Cardinal at *Rome*, who put them in order, and caus'd them to be publiſh'd; and there were ſome in which his Style was too palpable to be conceal'd. He was ſo exaſperated againſt this Cardinal, that he made all his Kindred and Friends feel the Effects of his Indignation; and not long after, the Marquis of *Exeter*, and ſome others were condemn'd to Death, and executed for correſponding with the Cardinal, which in thoſe Days was a Crime not to be forgiven. At laſt *Paul* III. having publiſh'd his Bull againſt the King, *Pole* wrote a Book endeavouring to prove that it was more meritorious to make War upon *Henry*, than upon the Infidels: But all

Pole writes a Book to prove it more meritorious to fall upon Henry *than the Infidels.*

H. VIII. all his Efforts exaſperated the King more and more againſt him.

Parliament makes an Act, giving the ſame Authority to the Orders of a King and Council in a Minority, as to the Statutes.

HENRY was arriv'd to ſuch a degree of Authority, that the Parliament did nothing but by his Direction. In 1539, the two Houſes gave a very flagrant Proof of their ſlaviſh Attachment to him, by paſſing an Act which gave the ſame Sanction to the Proclamations of a King, or the Orders of Council during a Minority, as to Acts of Parliament; of which Act, after *Henry* VIIIth's Death, *Edward* the VIth's Council made a very good Handle.

Perſons attainted for correſponding with Cardinal Pole.

THAT ſame Parliament confirm'd the Sentence of Death paſs'd upon the Marquis of *Exeter*, and ſome others, for holding a Correſpondence with Cardinal *Pole*. Moreover the Cardinal's Mother, the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, and the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, were condemn'd to die for the ſame Crime, by an Act of Attainder, without being admitted to make their Defence. The Houſe of Lords made ſome Efforts to oppoſe this Injuſtice. But *Cromwell* ſo bully'd the Parliament, that he made them paſs this Act, which was afterwards urg'd as a Precedent againſt himſelf; and a Man had no other way to ſave his Eſtate, Honour and Life, than to conform to the King's Will: 'Tis true, that *Henry* put no body to Death upon his bare Authority, but he had gain'd ſuch an Aſcendant o'er the Parliament, that he got ſuch Laws enacted as he judg'd neceſſary for eſtabliſhing his Authority more and more, and then caus'd them to be put in Execution without Mercy againſt all that were deficient in Complaiſance to him.

The Act turn'd afterwards upon Cromwell, *the Author of it.*

Henry's Aſcendency over the Parliament.

His Marriage with Anne *of* Cleves, *by whom promoted.* 3.

CROMWELL and *Cranmer*, the two Pillars of the Reformation, knowing what a Strength it wou'd be to their Party if the King mar-

marry'd a Proteſtant Princeſs, manag'd him ſo that they prevail'd with him to demand the Princeſs *Anne*, Siſter to the Duke of *Cleves* in Marriage. *A.* 1540.

THIS Princeſs arriving in *England* in 1540, the King was ſo diſſatisfy'd with her, that he cou'd not forgive *Cromwell*, who had engag'd him in the Marriage, from which however he cou'd not go back, becauſe he then thought he ſhou'd quickly ſtand in need of Succours from the Proteſtants of *Germany*. Mean time he made *Cromwell* Earl of *Eſſex*; but not long after, this Miniſter was accus'd of High Treaſon, and condemn'd by an Act of Attainder, without being admitted to make his Defence, in the very ſame manner as he himſelf had procur'd the Condemnation of the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, and the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*.

Henry's diſguſt at it.

Cromwell made E. of Eſſex, *and attainted of High Treaſon.*

IMMEDIATELY after, the King reſolv'd to have a Divorce from *Anne* of *Cleves*, on pretence that ſhe was engag'd beforehand to a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain*. If ever there was a far-fetch'd Pretence, this was one, but the Parliament and Clergy being devoted to the King, he got his Marriage diſſolv'd without any Difficulty; and the rather becauſe the Queen, who found the King had no Affection for her, did not oppoſe it, and was contented with the Title of the King's adopted Siſter, and a good Penſion. Not long after, the King marry'd *Catherine Howard*, Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*.

Henry's Divorce from Anne *of* Cleves.

And Marriage to Catherine Howard.

IN 1541, while *Henry* was at *York* waiting for the King of *Scotland*, he put forth a Proclamation, inviting his Subjects who had ſuffer'd any wrong from his Miniſters to bring their Complaints to him. Mean time his View was not to do them Juſtice, but only to heap

His Proclamation pretended for the Eaſe of his Subjects, but really to caſt an Odium on Cromwell.

H. VIII. eap Blame upon the Adminiſtration of *Cromwell*, and to give the Inhabitants of the Northern Counties hopes of a milder Government than they had liv'd under for the time paſt.

Ireland *made a Kingdom.*

THIS Year *Ireland* was erected into a Kingdom.

CATHERINE Howard, to whom the King was but lately marry'd, was beheaded in 1542. after having been convicted of being falſe to the King, and of having led a diſſolute Life both before and after her Marriage. The Act which condemn'd her, imported among other Things, that a Daughter whom the King ſhou'd marry for a Virgin, that was not ſo, and did not acquaint the King of it, ſhou'd be guilty of High-Treaſon; which made ſome ſay, that the King cou'd not ſafely marry with any but a Widow, as he actually did, in marrying *Catherine Parr*, the Widow of the Lord *Latimer*.

Henry's *Marriage to* Catherine Parr.

A new Act for the Succeſſion.

THE King's new Marriage was productive of a new Act of Parliament in 1544, for ſettling the Succeſſion to the Crown. Prince *Edward* was nam'd firſt in it with his Iſſue. In the ſecond Rank were the Male Iſſue that the King might happen to have by the Queen now reigning. In the third, the Princeſs *Mary* and her Deſcendants; and in the fourth, Princeſs *Elizabeth* and her Iſſue. But as to theſe two Princeſſes, the Act ſubjected them to ſuch Conditions as it ſhou'd pleaſe the King their Father to impoſe on them; and in Caſe of Diſobedience, they were declar'd incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown: and the Parliament granted the King a Power to ſettle the Succeſſion in what manner he thought fit, either by a Will ſign'd with his own Hand, or by

by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. So that on the one Hand the Parliament ſeem'd to acknowledge the two Princeſſes to be Legitimate by the Rank they gave them in the Order of Succeſſion, while on the other Hand they ſeem'd to treat them but as Baſtards, becauſe what Right of Succeſſion they gave them, was altogether dependent on the King's Will and Pleaſure: But this is not the only Contradiction we meet with in the Acts of Parliament, with regard to *Henry* VIIIth's Succeſſion. *A.* 1545.

ANOTHER Act was paſs'd afterwards, by which the Title of *King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *and Defender of the Faith*, was inſeparably united to the Crown of *England*. *The Parliament's Settlement of the King's Title.*

THIS ſame Parliament granted the King a Subſidy, after a very extraordinary manner, by declaring him quit of all his Debts; but they were his private Debts for which the Parliament did not ſtand engag'd. Probably the Parliament was glad of it, in order to put a ſtop to the Loans, whether voluntary or forc'd, which Kings ſometimes had recourſe to in their Neceſſities, and which by degrees wou'd have render'd Parliaments uſeleſs, or at leaſt not near ſo frequent. *They wipe out his Debts with a Spunge.*

THOMAS Audley High Chancellor, who ſucceeded *More*, dying this Year, *Wriotheſley* was advanc'd to his Poſt, who was a great Enemy to the Reformed. *Wriotheſly made High Chancellor.*

I don't find any thing conſiderable with reſpect to Domeſtick Affairs in the Year 1545, except it be the Death of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, who was mightily belov'd and eſteem'd by the King his Brother-in-Law. *Death of the Duke of* Suffolk.

H. VIII. AFTER *Henry* had fallen out with the Pope, he acquir'd an Authority over his Subjects, that was little ſhort of being abſolute, of which as I have already hinted in another place, Religion was the Cauſe. He had made a terrible Uſe of that Power, as well with reſpect to his Wives and Favourites, as to thoſe who wou'd not ſquare their Religion by his, whether they were Catholicks or Reformed. Nay, he was grown ſo fierce, that none cou'd look at him without trembling; and his peeviſhneſs increas'd by reaſon of his extreme Corpulency, which was ſuch an uneaſineſs to him, that he was not able at laſt to manage a Pen, ſo as to ſign his Name to any thing, ſo big were his Fingers. He had moreover ſuch an Ulcer in his Leg, that he cou'd not walk without being ſupported; yet for all this, inſtead of thinking on Death, which was juſt ready to trip up his Heels, all his Thoughts were how to extend his Authority, for he wou'd have every thing done after his own Fancy; inſomuch that the Queen her ſelf narrowly miſs'd of falling a Prey to the ſavage Temper of the King her Husband; for in 1546, the Queen having been accus'd of ſuffering the new Religion to be preach'd in her Apartment, in preſence of her Ladies, the King ſign'd an Order to take her into Cuſtody, and gave it to the Chancellor, who by miſtake loſt it; which Order being found and carry'd ſecretly to the Queen, ſhe improv'd that Time which the Chancellor took to ſeek it, in pacifying the King, who reſtor'd her to his Favour.

Henry's abſolute Authority,

His unweildineſs and ſavage Temper.

The Queens narrow eſcape for ſuffering the Proteſtant Doctrine to be preach'd.

HENRY being almoſt choak'd with Fat, and ſtill very much annoy'd by his Ulcer, was ſenſible at laſt that he had not long to live. This made him ſeriouſly forecaſt what might happen

happen after his Death. He was apprehenſive that the Affair of his Divorce from *Catherine* of *Arragon* wou'd be ripp'd up again, and that his Daughter *Mary* wou'd find Intereſt enough among the ſecret Friends of the Pope, to get the Sentence of the Divorce repeal'd, and to ſeize the Crown in prejudice of her Brother *Edward*. He knew that the Pope had ſtill a ſtrong Party in *England*, and tho he was ſenſible he had Power enough to cruſh it, yet he was afraid that his Succeſſor wou'd not have ſufficient Power in a Minority. Therefore he conſulted on his Pillow, how to prevent thoſe Accidents which might be capable of making an Alteration in his Eſtabliſhment, either of the Crown or Religion. The Duke of *Norfolk* tho a true Courtier, and one that paid an external Obedience to the King's Will and Pleaſure, yet all Mankind, and the King in particular, knew that he was the Head of the Pope's Party, and his Son the Earl of *Surry* was of the ſame Principle. Theſe two Noblemen were ſo powerful, that the King was afraid that after his Death they wou'd put themſelves at the Head of the Popiſh Party, in order to ſupport the old Religion, and the Intereſts of *Mary*. This ſingle Conſideration made him reſolve to put them both to Death before he left the World, and accordingly he order'd them to be committed to the *Tower*, and a ſham Proſecution to be commenc'd againſt them.

A. 1546.

His care about the Settlement of the Succeſſion and Religion.

Duke of Norfolk *and his Son committed to the* Tower.

WHILE the Proceſs againſt theſe two Lords was carrying on, the King caus'd a Will to be tranſcrib'd, which he made before his laſt Expedition to *France*. In this Will, he ſettled the Order of his Succeſſion, according to the Act of Parliament in the Year 1544.

Henry's Laſt Will about the Succeſſion.

H. VIII. But without making any mention of the Poſterity of *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland* his eldeſt Siſter, he order'd that the Daughters of his youngeſt Siſter *Mary* Queen of *France*, and Ducheſs of *Suffolk*, ſhou'd ſucceed after *Elizabeth*, if ſhe dy'd without Children, and even next to *Edward*, in caſe that *Mary* and *Elizabeth* did not perform the Conditions requir'd of them. Thus in Conſequence of the Power that had been granted to the King by the Parliament, namely by virtue of that Authority, *Henry* entirely excluded his elder Siſter's Branch from the Succeſſion to the Crown, without giving any reaſon for it. We find this Will at large in the XVth Volume of the *Fœdera*, together with the Subſcription of the King and Witneſſes: whether the King ſign'd it himſelf with his own Hand, or whether his Name was only printed to it, I will not take upon me to ſay, becauſe as I obſerv'd a little above, he had not been able to hold a Pen for ſome time paſt; and we find in the *Fœdera* that he had for ſeveral Years paſt appointed Commiſſioners to ſign the Acts for him. We ſhall take notice of the chief Articles of this Will by and by, and ſhall only obſerve here, that the King caus'd the Name of *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to be raz'd out of the number of the Guardians whom he had appointed over the Prince his Son during his Minority.

Gardiner ſtruck out of the Liſt of Edward's Guardians.

In 1547, *Henry* finding himſelf drawing near to his End, and conſidering that the Proſecution of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surry*, might take up a vaſt deal of time, if they were try'd after the uſual Form, caus'd a Bill of Attainder to be paſs'd in Parliament againſt the Earl of *Surry*, for being ſo inſolent

E. of Surry attainted for falſe Heraldry, and executed.

as to quarter the Arms of St. *Edward* in his Eſcutcheon; which tho a far fetch'd pretence, was ſufficient to get him capitally condemn'd; and the Sentence was ſoon follow'd with Execution. Afterwards, the like Act was prepar'd againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, on ſome pretence or other, as far fetch'd as the former, and the ſaid Acts having paſſed thro' both Houſes, the King gave his Approbation thereof by Commiſſioners; and immediately after, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* receiv'd an Order to carry the Duke to the Place of Execution on the 29th of *January*; but happily for him the King himſelf dy'd the Night before, *viz.* the 28th, and thus the Duke eſcap'd as it were by a Miracle, *Edward*'s Council not thinking it adviſeable to ſtain his Acceſſion to the Crown, with the Execution of the firſt Nobleman of *England*.

A. 1536.

His Father alſo attainted, and narrowly eſcapes Execution.

THE Acts in the XIVth *Tome of the* Fœdera *which relate to Domeſtick Affairs, are chiefly theſe.*

1. AN Act wherein *Catherine* of *Arragon* is only ſtil'd Princeſs Dowager of *Wales*, and Prince *Arthur*'s Widow, dated *Jan.* 8. 1534. at *Weſtminſter*.

Catherine of Arragon's Title. 482.

2. A Memorandum, ſhewing the Alteration in the King's Title, *viz.* Henry VIIIth *by the Grace of God, King of* England *and* France, *Defender of the Faith, and Lord of* Ireland, *and on Earth ſupreme Head of the Church of* England; dated *Jan.* 15. 1535. at *Weſtminſter*.

Henry's Style and Title. 549.

3. A Writ of Summons for the meeting of the Parliament on the 8th of *June* 1536. dated *April* 27. 1536. at *Weſtminſter*.

Writ for calling the Parliament. 563.

THIS

H. VIII. THIS Act ſhews the Number and Names of the Peers.

Cromwell's Attainder, and the Diſtribution of his Offices. 702.

4. THE diſtribution of *Cromwell's* Offices after his Condemnation and Death, *per attincturam & forisfacturam Thomæ Cromwell, Comitis Eſſexiæ, de diverſis Hereſibus, & de altâ proditione attincti & modo defuncti:* i. e. by the Attainder and Forfeiture of *Thomas Cromwell*, now deceas'd, for certain Hereſies, and for High-Treaſon; dated *Aug.* 3. 1540. at *Old Forde.*

His Son made a Baron. 707.

5. CREATION of *Gregory Cromwell*, Son of *Thomas Cromwell*, a Baron of the Realm; dated *Dec.* 18. 1540. at *Weſtminſter.*

Denization of Anne *of* Cleves. 709.

6. THE Denization of *Anne* of *Cleves*, the new Queen of *England*; dated *Jan.* 9. 1541. at *Hampton Court.*

7. SEVERAL Grants to *Anne* of *Cleves*; dated *Jan.* 21. 1541. at *Weſtminſter.*

Summons of the Parliament. 737.

8. SUMMONS to the Parliament to meet on the 16th of *January* 1542; dated *Nov.* 23. 1541. at *Weſtminſter.*

Creation of Iriſh Peers. 797.

9. CREATION of *William Bourck*, alias *Mac-William*, an *Iriſhman*, Earl of *Clanricard*; dated *July* 1. 1543. at *Weſtminſter.*

799. 10. CREATION of *Mawer o Bryan* Earl of *Thomond*; dated *July* 1. 1543. at *Greenwich.*

800. 11. CREATION of *Conat o Bryan* Baron of *Ibrakain*; dated as above.

Vol. XV. *The Acts relating to the Domeſtick Affairs in this Period, in the* XVth Vol. *of the* Fœdera, *are theſe.*

1. CREATION of *Conac o Neal* Earl of *Tyrone*; dated *Sept.* 1. 1543. at *Greenwich.*

2. LET-

2. LETTERS Patent, conſtituting Queen *Catherine Parr* Regent of the Kingdom in the abſence of the King; dated *July* 9. 1544. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1546. Cath. Parr *made Regent.* 39.

3. AN Order to obey the Warrants or Orders of the Queen with regard to Money; dated *July* 11. 1544. at *Weſtminſter*. *Order to obey her Warrants to the Treaſury.* 44.

4. THE King's Letters Patent, authoriſing certain Commiſſioners to ſign for him, with an engrav'd Seal, ſuch Orders as are ſent to the Treaſury for the Money which is neceſſary for the Gariſons; dated *Oct.* 12. 1545. at *Weſtminſter*. *King appoints Commiſſioners to ſtamp his Name on Orders,* &c. 81.

THE King began at that time to find a great uneaſineſs in ſigning with his own Hand, and therefore he had a mind to free himſelf from the Trouble of the frequent ſignings, which were abſolutely neceſſary for the Treaſury. *Benevolence demanded.* 84.

5. A Commiſſion to deſire the People's Benevolence, or Free Gift, but no Names of the Commiſſioners; dated *Jan.* 5. 1546. at *Greenwich*.

6. LETTERS from the King to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, inviting him to come to *London*; dated *Jan.* 30. 1546. at *Weſtminſter* *Invitation of the* Palatine *of the* Rhine. 88.

THEY ſay the King deſign'd to give him the Princeſs *Mary* in Marriage.

7. LETTERS Patent, whereby *Anthony Dennis*, *John Gate*, and *William Clerk*, are authoriſ'd to ſign all Warrants in the King's Name, dated *Aug.* 31. 1546. at *Hampton Court*. *Commiſſion to ſign the King's Order.* 100.

8. OTHERS of the like nature, authoriſing the Lords of the Council to ſign all the Orders for the Treaſury with the Royal Signet, dated *Octob.* 16. 1546. at *Weſtminſter*. 103.

9. *HEN-*

H. VIII.

9. *HENRY* VIIIth's Will; dated *Dec.* 30. 1546. at *Weſtminſter*. The Articles are in Subſtance as follows*.

Henry's *laſt Will and Teſtament.* 116.

'HE earneſtly begs the bleſſed Virgin 'Mary, the Mother of Jeſus Chriſt, and the 'whole Company of Heaven, to pray to God 'continually for him.

* This is the Will that was ſo much canvaſs'd in the late Reign, by ſome of the moſt eminent Writers for and againſt the *Hanover* Family; but being a Diſpute of no great Importance ſince their happy Acceſſion to the Crown, it will ſuffice juſt to mention wherein it conſiſted. That ſuch a Will was drawn up by the King's Order was ſcarce doubted; but the Queſtion was, whether it was duly executed according to the Act of Parliament? which at the ſame time that it impower'd the King to ſettle the Succeſſion, order'd it ſhould be done by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, or by a Will ſign'd with the King's own Hand-writing: Mr. *Rymer* having left this Point in doubt, ſome Gentlemen of Note were deputed in the late Reign by Perſons of the firſt Rank in this Kingdom, to go to the Chapter-houſe of *Weſtminſter-Abbey* on purpoſe to ſearch for the Original Will among the Records of the *Exchequer*. They found it to conſiſt of ſeveral Sheets of ſoft coarſe Paper, tack'd together with a Braid of green and white Ribbon; the Writing of a mean and ſlovenly Character. The Will was ſign'd on the top of the firſt and the end of the laſt Page with the King's Hand-writing, as pretended, but the Character fairer than ever he could make. Upon comparing his Name on the Will, with his Stamp and his uſual Hand-writing, it agreed with neither; and was ſo far from reſembling the trembling Hand of a dying Man, that it was very ſtiff like a counterfeit Hand; only there is a ſcratch, ſeemingly made on purpoſe to ſcreen the Forgery againſt any future Inquiry by the Royal Line of *Scotland*, which was thereby totally diſinherited, or at leaſt poſtpon'd after all the other Families. It is ſeal'd with his Pocket-Seal on ſoft Wax, appended to the Ribbon which tacks the Sheets together; and upon the whole there is great reaſon to conclude that this Stamp was cut on purpoſe to reſemble the King's Hand as well as they could, in ſuch Circumſtances as he then was.

'HE deſires that his Body may be interr'd *A.* 1546.
'in a Tomb he had prepar'd at *Windſor*, and
'that the Corpſe of Queen *Jane* may be de-
'poſited therein with his. That immediately
'after his Death all the Funeral Services be
'perform'd for him. He gives 1000 Marks to
'the Poor, who ſhall aſſiſt at his Funeral, and
'600 *l. Sterling per Ann.* in Land to the Dean
'of *Windſor*, that he may order Maſſes for his
'Soul continually.

'HE gives Twelve-pence a-day to the
'thirteen Poor, called the *Poor Knights*, and
'3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* a Year to the Head and Go-
'vernor of them, beſides the ordinary Pay.

The Order he eſtabliſh'd for the Succeſſion to the Crown.

1. 'EDWARD and his Children.

2. 'THE Children of *Henry* VIII. by *Ca-* *The Order*
'*therine Parr*, or ſuch other Wife as he ſhould *of the Suc-*
'marry afterwards. *ceſſion.*

3. 'MARY, on condition that ſhe does not
'marry without the Advice and Council of the
'Counſellors, or the major part thereof ap-
'pointed by the King to adminiſter Affairs un-
'der *Edward*, or at leaſt of ſuch as ſhall be
'then living. This Condition is abſolutely ne-
'ceſſary.

4. 'ELIZABETH to ſucceed on the ſame
'Condition.

5. 'THE Deſcendants of *Frances Brandon*,
'Daughter of *Mary* Queen *Dowager* of *France*.

6. 'THE Deſcendants of *Eleanor*, ſecond
'Daughter of the ſaid Queen *Mary*.

7. 'THE neareſt rightful Heirs.

'TIS not certain whether he meant the Deſcendants of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, his eldeſt Siſter, or the other Kindred which he might have in *England*.

'IF

H. VIII. 'If *Mary* refuse to execute the Condition 'impos'd on her, the Crown shall pass to *Eli-* 'zabeth all one as if *Mary* was dead.

'If *Elizabeth* does not perform the Condi- 'tion, the Crown shall pass to *Frances Bran-* 'don, &c. All Statutes to the contrary not- 'withstanding.

His Executors. *The Executors nominated were these,*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury.*
Lord *Wriothesley*, Lord Chancellor of *England.*
Lord *St. John*, Great Master of the Household.
Earl of *Hertford*, Lord Great Chamberlain.
Lord *Russel*, Lord Privy-Seal.
Viscount *Lisle*, Lord Admiral of *England.*
——*Tunstall*, Bishop of *Durham.*
Sir *Anthony Brown* Kt. Master of the Horse.
Sir *Edward Montague* Kt. Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas.
Justice *Bromley.*
Sir *Edward North* Kt. Chancellor of the Augmentations.
Sir *William Paget* Kt. First Secretary.
Sir *Anthony Deny.* } Kts. Chief Gentlemen
Sir *William Harbard.* } of the Privy-Chamber.
Sir *Edward Wootton*, Kt. Treasurer of *Calais.*
Dr. *Wootton*, his Brother, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York.*

'The same Persons who were Executors of
Edward's *Privy-Councellors* 'the Will, were also nominated for *Edward*'s 'Privy-Councellors.

'The Executors are charg'd. 1. To pay 'the King's Debts after the Funeral Expences. '2. To perform all his Promises.

'*EDWARD*, Prince of *Wales*, is de- 'clar'd lawful Heir.

BRITISH MUSEUM



KING EDWARD THE VI.TH

'TIS requir'd that the Council by the Majority of Votes order all things that shall be thought convenient till *Edward* is marry'd, and attain to the Age of eighteen. *A.* 1546.

'THE other Councellors nominated to give their Opinion in Council, when called to it, are, *Other Counsellors to be call'd.*

The Earls of *Arundel* and *Essex.*	Sir *Richard Riche* Kt.
Sir *Thomas Cheney* Kt.	Sir *John Baker* Kt.
Sir *John Gage* Kt.	Sir *Ralph Sadleyr* Kt.
Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Kt.	Sir *Tho. Seymour* Kt.
Sir *William Petre* Kt.	Sir *Ric. Southwell* Kt.
	Sir *Ed. Peckham* Kt.

'THE Portion of *Mary* and *Elizabeth* shall be 10000 *l. Sterling* each, or more, at the Discretion of the Counsellors. *The Portions of Mary and Elizabeth.*

'TO each a Pension of 3000 *l.* till their Marriage.

'TO the Queen 3000 *l.* in Jewels or Plate, and 1000 *l.* in ready Money, besides her Jointure. *Henry's other Legacies.*

'TO those Executors who are Lords 500 *l.* a-piece, and to the others 300 *l.* each.

'AND other Legacies amounting to 8650 Marks and 1700 *l. Sterling.*

WE now come to *Edward* VI. whose Reign we shall introduce as we have done those of his Ancestors, with the Dedication of that particular Volume of the *Fœdera*, viz. *Tome* XV. which takes in all the publick Acts relating to it. *Ed.* VI.

'THIS, *says the Compiler*, who adresses it to the late Queen, is the XVth Volume drawn forth from your most sacred Treasures, for a Bounty to the World.

'IT

Edw. VI. 'IT comprehends a Period ſomewhat more 'than forty Years, in which ſo long Space, 'Atchievements of *War*, *Battles*, *Victories*, 'and *Triumph*, are not ſo much in *Vogue*.

'TIS now Matters of the *Church*, the Ope-'rations of *Religion*, the Reformation, and Ap-'plication to cultivate true *Piety*, and give our 'Holy *Faith* a new Light and Luſtre.

'AS to *Civil Affairs*; it begins with a Ra-'tification of a Treaty concluded for her Ma-'jeſty the Queen of *Scotland* to marry Prince '*Edward*, apparent and undoubted Heir of 'King *Henry* VIII. your Majeſty's Predeceſſor 'of moſt glorious Memory: And it ends 'with an account of the States General, '*Gueldres*, *Zutphen*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Weſt-'frieſland*, *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, and other the 'United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, who 'declare themſelves diſcharg'd from all Ties 'to the King of *Spain*, and therefore reſolv'd 'to provide themſelves with another Maſter 'capable to defend and protect them againſt 'the Tyranny of the aforeſaid King of *Spain*, 'and againſt the *Spaniſh moſt barbarous Inquiſi-'tion*, introduc'd for no other End but the 'Extirpation of the *true Religion*.

'HEREUPON they ſue to Queen *Elizabeth* 'to take them under her Care and Protection, 'which readily ſhe grants.

'AND now it is that *Eſcluſe*, the *Brill*, with '*Fluſhing*, and the *Rammakins* are deliver'd 'into the Hands of *Engliſh Governours and* '*Garriſons*..

'THIS done, the *Queen* diſpatches away 'her Ambaſſadors to *Scotland* for a cloſer 'Friendſhip, and a League Offenſive and De-'fenſive, in order to ſupport the *Reformed Re-'ligion* againſt all Enemies and Oppoſition,

'and

'and for the *King* to be a Partner with her, *A.* 1547.
'and effectually to have his Share in being a
'*Defender of the Faith*; which ſeaſonable Con-
'federacy clear'd the way to a *Proteſtant Suc-*
'*ceſſion*, in the Perſon of King *James* your
'*Majeſty's Progenitor*, of ever bleſſed Memory.
'HE was a Peacemaker, and he was a
'King fifty five Years.
'LONG was the Reign of his Cotemporary
'and Confederate, Queen *Elizabeth*.
'THAT, *&c.*

THE Reign of *Edward* VI. may be properly divided into four principal Articles, *viz.* Domeſtick Affairs, Affairs with *Scotland*, Affairs with *France*, and Affairs concerning Religion.

ARTICLE I.

Of Domeſtick Affairs.

EDWARD VI. the only Son of *Henry* VIII. was but in the tenth Year of his Age when he ſucceeded the King his Father. As ſoon as he was proclaim'd, the Council open'd the Will of *Henry* VIII. in which they found that he had appointed ſixteen Perſons to adminiſter Affairs for the young King during his Minority, with the Title only of Executors of his laſt Will and Teſtament, tho they had properly the Authority of Regents, and that he had nam'd twelve other Perſons to aſſiſt theſe with their Councils. He empower'd the Executors or Regents, or the Majority of them, to act as they thought convenient; a Clauſe of which they made great uſe, and which gave them room to make ſuch Alterations as without doubt *Henry* never dreamt of. For example,

Edw. VI's *Acceſſion.*

His Executors or Regents.

Ed. VI. he never once intended to give the Majority a Power to chuſe a Protector, or to exclude any of the Regents from the Commiſſion. This appear'd from his putting the two Princeſſes his Daughters under a neceſſity of not marrying without the Conſent of ſuch of the Executors as ſhould then happen to be living. Nevertheleſs, theſe two Articles were got over by virtue of the general Clauſe juſt mention'd. Among the Executors, or Regents, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriotheſley*, Great Chancellor, the Earl of *Hertford*, who was the young King's Uncle by the Mother-ſide, and *John Dudley* Viſcount of *Liſle*, Son to *Edward Dudley* who was hang'd in the beginning of the Reign of *Henry* VIII. were they that made the greateſt Figure; as did among the Privy-Counſellors, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Eſſex*, and *Thomas Seymour*, Uncle to the King, and Brother to the Earl of *Hertford*.

A Propoſal to chuſe a Protector oppos'd.

THE Regents and Privy-Counſellors having enter'd upon their Offices, the firſt thing propos'd in the Council of the Regency was to chuſe a Protector. *Wriotheſley* the Great Chancellor oppos'd it to the utmoſt of his Power, and pleaded, that as the late King's Will deriv'd all its Force from an Act of Parliament, it was not poſſible to make any Alteration in it: beſides this Reaſon, there were other more ſecret Motives which were no leſs prevalent with him to oppoſe it. In the firſt place, as he was Great Chancellor, and as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who preceded him in the Commiſſion, did not trouble himſelf with State Affairs, he hop'd to be always Preſident of the Regency, and to be look'd upon as the Head of it. In the ſecond place he knew full well that the View of this Propoſal was to advance his Enemy the Earl of *Hertford*, to the Dignity

of Protector. Thirdly, he was afraid that the Catholick Religion, to which he was very much attach'd, would ſuffer too much Prejudice from the Authority of the Earl of *Hertford*, whoſe Byaſs to the Reformation was known to all Mankind. Notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition he could make, the Choice of a Protector was reſolv'd upon, and it fell upon the Earl of *Hertford*, with this Reſtriction nevertheleſs, that he *ſhould not act without the Conſent of the other Regents*. This Election was founded upon the general Clauſe in the Will which I mention'd above, that the Executors ſhould adminiſter the Affairs of the Government, in ſuch manner as they thought fit. From whence it was inferr'd, that every thing which the Majority of the Regents approv'd of, was deem'd conformable to the late King's Will. *A.* 1547. *Earl of* Hertford *choſe Protector.*

THIS firſt Step being taken, they went a little farther, but ſtill on pretence of executing the late King's Will, as he had expreſly charg'd his Executors. When they came to know the Promiſes that he had made to ſeveral Perſons to advance them to high Dignities, they thought themſelves oblig'd to execute his Intention in that reſpect, the rather becauſe it was in favour of many of the Regents and Privy-Counſellors. Conſequently, the Earl of *Hertford*, who was already Protector, was created Duke of *Somerſet*; *William Parr*, Earl of *Eſſex*, created Marquis of *Northampton*; the Viſcount *Liſle* had the Title of Earl of *Warwick*; the Chancellor that of Earl of *Southampton*; *Thomas Seymour* was made Baron of *Dudley*, and *Rich*, *Willoughby*, and *Sheffield* were promoted to the Dignity of Barons. For ſupport of theſe new Dignities, certain Lands of the Church were alienated and diſtributed *Honours conferr'd on the Regency and Council.*

Ed. VI. to the new created Peers. Immediately after this, the Protector was made High-Treasurer and Great Marshal, and *Thomas Seymour* his Brother, was preferr'd to the Post of High-Admiral. All this was done in the space of a Fortnight after the Death of *Henry* VIII. and then that Prince's Funeral Obsequies were perform'd, and the new King crown'd.

L. Chancellor remov'd.

The first use that the Protector made of his Credit and Authority was, to remove the Chancellor, who furnish'd him with a Pretext for turning him out of his Office, and confining him to his House *. Afterwards, the Duke of *Somerset*, not content with being chose Protector by the Regents, got a Patent dispatch'd in the King's Name, by which he was by the King himself declar'd Protector, and caus'd certain Clauses to be inserted in it, which render'd his Dignity independent on the other Regents, who by that means, were no more than his Counsellors. Thus the Duke of *Somerset* became absolute Master of the Government, and thereby drew upon him the Hatred and Envy of his Collegues, who took hold of every Opportunity to ruin him, as we shall find hereafter.

Absolute Power of the Protector.

The Protector having remov'd the Chancellor, and given his Post to the Lord *Rich*, his devoted Tool, thought himself secure from the Attacks that he had most reason to fear; tho he found a formidable Enemy in his own Brother the High-Admiral, whose Ambition knew no Bounds. This Lord being the King's Uncle,

* What the Crime of the Lord Chancellor was, and the Proceedings thereupon, may be seen at large in Bishop *Burnet's* History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 15, 16. the Account whereof he seems to have taken from the Council-Book.

was

was ſo offended at his not being put in the Liſt of the ſixteen Regents, as well as his Brother, that he could not bear to think of the Diſtinction thereby made between himſelf and his Brother. Immediately after the Death of *Henry* VIII. he made his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Mary*, but being very ſoon convinc'd that his Project was too difficult to put in execution, he pay'd his Compliments to *Catherine Parr*, the Queen *Dowager*, and marry'd her ſo ſoon after the Death of *Henry* VIII. that if ſhe had prov'd with Child, it would have been a doubt whether the late King or he was the Father. The Advancement of his Brother to the Dignity of Protector fill'd up the Meaſure of his Jealouſy, ſo that he never ceas'd cabalting againſt him; and while the Duke was taken up in the War againſt *Scotland*, he actually try'd to draw the young King into his Party, and to oblige him to take ſuch Steps as tended to the Protector's Ruin. In fine, he behav'd in ſuch a manner that the Duke was under a Neceſſity, either of being ruin'd himſelf, or of making away with his Brother, who was condemn'd to Death and executed.

A. 1543. *His Brother the Lord* Dudley's *Enmity to him.*

His ſaid Brother marries the Queen Dowager.

The Protector gets him condemn'd and executed.

THIS extraordinary Act of Severity gave a great Handle to the Protector's Enemies, who took occaſion from thence to run him down as a Man that had ſacrific'd his own Brother; (whoſe Crime, to make the moſt on't, was acting only againſt him, and not againſt the King) to his boundleſs Ambition. The Protector enjoy'd never the more Tranquility for the Death of the Admiral; for ſoon after, great Inſurrections aroſe in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, and particularly in the Counties of *Devon* and *Norfolk*, which were occaſion'd by the Oppreſſions that the common People ſuffer'd

The Protector hated for it.

Inſurrections in the Country, on account of the Nobilities Inclоſures of Land that us'd to lie open.

Ed. VI. ſuffer'd from the Nobility on account of certain Lands which the Nobility and Gentry had inclos'd with Pales. The Protector ſeem'd in ſome meaſure to ſupport the Complaints of the Commonalty, by doing all that he could to prevent the treating of the Rebels with Extremity, but he was not able to ſucceed in it; tho after they had been routed and diſpers'd by the Earl of *Warwick*, he granted them an Amneſty by his own Authority, and contrary to the Advice of the Council.

The Protector pardons them, contrary to the Advice of the Council.

THIS Step was very diſguſting to the great Men, who from that time began to concert Meaſures for his Ruin. And his Conduct afterwards, in Affairs relating to *France* and *Scotland*, haſten'd the Execution of the Conſpiracy which his Enemies had form'd againſt him. All on a ſudden, when he thought leaſt of it, the Preſident, and ſome others of the Privy-Council, retir'd to the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Houſe in *Holborn*, and proteſted that they were oblig'd to take this Step, becauſe the Council paſs'd for no more than a Cypher; the Protector doing every thing of his own Head, without adviſing with any body. All the Precautions which the Protector took to guard againſt this Conſpiracy, only ſerv'd to furniſh his Enemies with new Pretences. He did but carry the King to *Windſor*, and it was reckon'd a Crime. And at length, ſeven other Counſellors joining with thoſe who were already withdrawn, and the City of *London* declaring for them, the Protector began to be diſcourag'd; and this made him loſe ſeven other Counſellors, who join'd with the reſt: ſo that he could keep none with him but *Cranmer* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *William Paget*. When the Counſellors ſaw themſelves ſo well ſup-

Deſigns againſt the Protector.

Meeting of the Great Men at Ely-Houſe in Holborn, &c.

The Deſection of the Counſellors.

ſupported, they wrote to the King, acquainting him with the Faults and Ambition of the Duke his Uncle, whom they had already declar'd unworthy of being Protector; and they had Leave granted them to repair to the King at *Windſor*. There they caus'd the Duke of *Somerſet* to be arreſted, and ſent him to Court. After this they nam'd ſix Gvoernors for the King, of which Number was the Earl of *Warwick*, who had the Cunning to get all the Authority into his own Hands, and officiated, in a proper Senſe, as Protector, tho he had not the Title. This new Governour fearing leſt the Duke of *Somerſet* ſhou'd find means to reſume his Authority, caus'd an Act of Attainder to be paſs'd againſt him in Parliament; whereby he was condemn'd to a Fine of 2000 *l.* a Year in Land, and his Goods were confiſcated. Notwithſtanding all this, the Duke ſtill kept himſelf above Water, the King who lov'd him having granted him a Pardon; but he did not recover his former Poſt. The Earl of *Warwick* procur'd himſelf the Poſt of High Admiral, and ſtill continued to direct all the Affairs of the Government. The better to maintain himſelf in his Station, and to puſh his Fortune the farther, he made a ſtrict Union with the Lord *Gray*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, who had marry'd *Frances Brandon*, eldeſt Daughter of the late Duke of *Suffolk*, and of *Mary*, Siſter of *Henry* VIII. who was Queen Dowager of *France*. The Duke of *Suffolk* had had two Sons by a ſecond Marriage, who both dying about the time I ſpeak of, left the Title of Duke of *Suffolk* extinct, for which reaſon the Earl of *Warwick* procured it for his Friend the Marquis of *Dorſet*, who by his Marriage with *Frances Brandon*, had three Daughters, *viz.*

A. 1547.

Their Complaint to the King againſt the Protector.

Protector's Fall.

His Pardon from the King.

Earl of Warwick's *Promotion.*

His Union with the Marquis of Dorſet,

whom he makes D. of Suffolk.

Ed. VI. *Jane*, *Catherine*, and *Mary*. The View of the Earl of *Warwick*, as it afterwards appear'd, was to marry one of his Sons with *Jane Gray*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s eldeſt Daughter, and to put her upon the Throne, excluſive of *Mary* and *Elizabeth* the King's Siſters. The better to ſucceed in this Project, he endeavour'd to marry *Elizabeth* to the King of *Denmark*, but he found Difficulties in it which render'd it abortive.

And aims at the Succeſſion of the Crown to the Duke's Daughter.

Gets the Title of D. of Northumberland.

THE Earl of *Warwick*'s Intereſt increaſing every Day, he procur'd for himſelf the Title of Duke of *Northumberland*, and at length having brought an Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, of a Deſign to aſſaſſinate him, he caus'd Sentence of Death to be paſs'd upon him, and afterwards ſo artfully prejudic'd the young King againſt his Uncle, that he obtain'd an Order from him for the execution of the Sentence.

D. of Somerſet *condemn'd and executed.*

D. of Northumberland's *Power.*

AFTER the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Death, the Duke of *Northumberland* finding no more oppoſition, did whatſoever he pleas'd. He advanc'd his Creatures, and made himſelf abſolute Maſter of the King and Government. Not long after, the King falling into a Diſtemper, from which there was no hopes of his Recovery, the Duke of *Northumberland* made haſt to execute his Project. He marry'd *Guilford Dudley* his 4th Son, to *Jane Gray*, and perſwaded the young King on his Death-bed, to make a ſolemn Act for transferring the Crown to her, excluding his Siſters *Mary* and *Elizabeth* from the Succeſſion. This Act was founded on that by which the King's two Siſters had been declar'd Baſtards in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. and upon the Danger which wou'd attend the Reformation, if *Mary* aſcended the Throne.

Marries one of his Sons to Jane Gray.

Edward's Act tranſferring the Succeſſion to her.

Throne. The Judges were even forc'd to draw up this Act, which was nevertheleſs ſign'd by all the Privy Counſellors. The King being very ill, the Duke of *Northumberland*, who wiſh'd to have *Mary* and *Elizabeth* in his Hands, ſent them an Order to come and divert the King their Brother in his Sickneſs. They were actually on the Road, but being inform'd of the King's Death, they avoided the Snare which was laid for them. *Edward* VI. dy'd the 6th of *July* 1553. in the ſixteenth Year of his Age, and every body ſuſpected that his Days were ſhorten'd by ſiniſter Practices. *A.* 1547. *His Sickneſs and Death.*

The Acts relating to Domeſtick Affairs are,

1. THE firſt Proclamation for keeping the King's Peace; dated *Jan.* 31. 1547. at *Weſtminſter.* Edward's *firſt Proclamation.*

2. THE Patent of Treaſurer of the Exchequer for the Earl of *Hertford* the Protector; dated *Feb.* 10. 1547. at *Weſtminſter.* 123. *Earl of* Hertford's *Patents.*

3. ANOTHER which confers on him the Title of Baron *Seymour*; dated the 15th of the ſame Month, at the *Tower* of *London.* 124. 125.

'TIS ſaid in the Patent, that this Title is conferr'd on him, for fear leſt the antient Name of *Seymour* ſhou'd be eclipſed, and totally extinguiſhed by the ſplendor of the Protector's other Titles. The King orders that this Title paſs to the Children of the ſecond Venter, and their Deſcendants, then to *Edward Seymour* the Protector's Son by the firſt Venter; and if *Edward Seymour* ſhou'd dye without Iſſue Male, to the Children that the Protector might have by any future Wife.

4. ANOTHER appointing the Marquis of *Dorſet* High Conſtable, only for the 19th of *February*, 129. *Marquis of* Dorſet *made High Conſtable.*

Ed. VI. *February*, the Day preceding that of the King's Coronation; dated *Feb.* 17. 1547. at *Weſtminſter*.

Lord Ruſſel *Seneſchal.* 130.

5. ANOTHER appointing the Lord *Ruſſel* Great Seneſchal for only the 20th of *February*, the Day of the Coronation; dated as above.

D. of Somerſet *E.* Marſhal. 130.

6. ANOTHER for confering the Office of Earl Marſhal on the Duke of *Somerſet*; dated as above.

Patent of King's Printer. 150.

7. THE Office of Printer to the King in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, given to *Reginald Wolf*; dated *April* 19. 1547. at *Weſtminſter*.

Lord Ruſſel *Privy Seal.* 155.

8. THE Lord *Ruſſel's* Patent for the Office of Privy Seal; dated *Aug.* 21. 1547. at *Weſtminſter*.

Tho. Seymour *High Admiral.* 157.

9. ANOTHER Patent for the Office of High Admiral, conferr'd on *Thomas Seymour*; dated *Aug.* 30. 1547. at *Weſtminſter*.

THIS Patent was obtain'd by *Thomas Seymour* in the abſence of the Protector his Brother. 'Tis more ample than the former of *Feb.* 15.

Protector's Prerogatives. 164.

10. A Patent granting divers Preeminencies and Prerogatives to the Protector; dated *Nov.* 3. 1547. at *Weſtminſter*, viz.

THAT he ſhall ſit by himſelf in Parliament, on a Bench or Stool, at the King's right Hand.

THAT he ſhall enjoy all the Prerogatives which all other Protectors have enjoy'd, notwithſtanding the Statute of the 30th of *Henry* VIII. touching Precedency.

Is made Capt. General. 174.

11. A Patent conſtituting the Protector Captain General, as well without the Kingdom as within it; dated *Aug.* 11. 1548. at *Weſtminſter*.

Viſitation of the Univerſities. 178.

12. A Commiſſion to viſit the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, with Power to the Commiſſioners to ſuppreſs one or two Colleges, in order to found one for the Civil Law, and ano-

another for Phyſick; dated *Nov.* 10. 1548. at *Weſtminſter*. A. 1550.

13. A Penſion of 166 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Sterling*, granted to *Sebaſtian Cabot*; dated *Jan.* 6. 1549. at *Weſtminſter*. *Sebaſtian Cabot's Penſion.* 181.

14. A Patent of High Admiral for *John* Earl of *Warwick*; dated *Octob.* 28. 1549. at *Weſtminſter*. *Earl of* Warwick *High Admiral.* 194.

15. A Penſion of 375 *l.* *Sterling*, granted to *Otho* Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, *durante bene placito*; dated *Dec.* 24. 1549. at *Weſtminſter* *. *Duke of* Brunſwic's *Penſion.* 201.

16. A Power granted to Lord *Rich*, the High Chancellor, to make Denizens; dated *Jan.* 20. 1550. at *Weſtminſter*. *Ld Chancellor's Power to make Denizens.* 202.

17. A Patent for the Office of Great Chamberlain of *England*, conferr'd on *William Parr*, Marquis of *Northampton*; dated *Feb.* 4. 1550. at *Weſtminſter*.

18. LETTERS of Pardon for the Duke of *Somerſet*; dated *Feb.* 16. 1550. at *Weſtminſter*. *D. of* Somerſet's *Pardon.* 205.

19. PATENT of High Steward of the King's Houſhold for the Earl of *Warwick*; dated *Feb.* 20. 1550. at *Weſtminſter*. *Earl of* Warwick *High Steward.* 208.

THIS Officer was formerly known by the Title of Seneſchal of the King's Houſhold. It was *Henry* VIII. who in imitation of the Court of *France*, gave him the Title of High Steward.

IN this Patent the King gives the following Character of the Earl of *Warwick*. *The Preamble to his Patent.*

* WE are told by Sir *John Hayward* Kt. LLD. who wrote this Reign at large, that ſoon after this, the Duke offer'd to ſerve the King with 16000 Men in his Wars, and to court his eldeſt Siſter the Lady *Mary*, but the King return'd Anſwer, that his Wars were juſt ended, and that at that time there was a Treaty on foot betwixt the Lady and the Infante of *Portugal*.

Cujus

Cujus in Religione conſtantiam, in bello, ſeditione, & tumultu, fortitudinem, & animum erga Nos benevolum & fidiſſimum ſemper experti ſumus. Cujus commorantiam & perſonalem reſidentiam in Hoſpitio noſtro Regio, & circa perſonam noſtram Regiam, præſertim in hac tenera noſtra ætate, affectamus.

i. e. Of whoſe Conſtancy in Religion, of whoſe Valour in War, and in ſuppreſſing ſeditious Riots and Tumults, and of whoſe Affection and Fidelity to us we have always had Experience; and whoſe Perſonal Stay and Reſidence in our Royal Palace, and about our Royal Perſon, we deſire, eſpecially in this our tender Age.

Polydore Virgil's *Licence to go home.* 234.

20. A Licence to *Polydore Virgil* to depart the Kingdom, and to return to his own Country; dated *June* 2. 1550. at *Weſtminſter*.

His Reward.

The King grants to *Polydore Virgil* a Power to keep his two Benefices, *viz.* the Archdeaconry of *Bath* and *Wells*, and the Priory of *Nonyngton* in the Dioceſe of *Hereford*, in Conſideration of his having liv'd 40 Years in *England*, and wrote the Hiſtory of it.

D. of Somerſet's *Power to grant* 200 *Liveries.* 235.

21. A Licence to the Duke of *Somerſet* to give his Livery to 200 Perſons, Gentlemen or others, beſides his ordinary Domeſticks; dated *June* 5. 1550. at *Weſtminſter*.

Licence for printing the Pandects. 255.

22. A Privilege granted for 7 Years to *Lawrence Torrentin*, a *German* by Birth, but a Printer at *Florence*, for the Impreſſion of the Pandects; dated *April* 18. 1551. at *Weſtminſter*.

D. of Somerſet's *Execution.* 295.

23. Order for the Execution of the Duke of *Somerſet*. Without any Date *.

* The Execution was on the 22d of *January* 1552.

24. Ano-

24. ANOTHER for the Execution of Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and Sir *Michael Stanhope*, who were ſaid to be the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Accomplices; dated at *Weſtminſter Feb.* 25. 1552. *A.* 1553. *And his Accomplices.* 296.

15. *WILLIAM Cecil* made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter; dated *April* 12. 1553. Cecil *made Chancellor of the* Garter. 330.

ARTICLE II.

Affairs with Scotland.

HENRY VIII. had expreſly recommended it to his Executors to employ all the means poſſible in order to put the Treaty in execution which he had made with the *Scots* for the Marriage of his Son with the young Queen of *Scotland*. The Duke of *Somerſet* being made Protector, thought this was an Affair not to be neglected. Therefore he demanded of the *Scots* in 1547. to execute the Treaty, and upon their refuſal, reſolv'd to carry the War into *Scotland*, not with a View to conquer the Kingdom, but according to *Henry* VIIIth's Maxim, to oblige the *Scots* by the Inconveniencies and Hazards of War, to perform the Treaty. The Regent of *Scotland* and the Queen Dowager, being abſolutely againſt this Marriage, had taken timely Precautions to have Aſſiſtance from *France* in caſe of need. For *Henry* II. who was but juſt come to the Throne of *France*, thought he was concern'd to hinder the King of *England* from becoming alſo King of *Scotland*; and the two Princes of *Lorrain*, who had very great Credit with him, corroborated him in his Deſign, to ſupport the

Scots *refuſal to perform the Treaty for the Marriage of the young Queen to* K. Edw.

Scots,

Ed. VI. *Scots*, leſt the Match ſhou'd take place betwixt the Queen their Niece, and a Proteſtant Prince. At that time alſo, it ſeems, they had a Deſign to give their Niece in Marriage to the Dauphin. Be that as it will, when *Henry* II. came to the Crown, he declar'd that he wou'd aſſiſt the *Scots* with all his Power, which was what made the Protector of *England* fearful of engaging in this Affair, and he wou'd have been glad of getting off on't with Honour: With this View he offer'd the *Scots* a Condition which wou'd never have been rejected, if there had not been a Deſign on foot to marry the young Queen to the Dauphin. He was willing to leave *Scotland* in quiet till the Queen came of Age, on condition that during that time, ſhe ſhou'd be bred up in *Scotland*, without engaging in any Marriage. It was manifeſt, that during this Interval, *Edward* or *Mary* might die; and happen what wou'd, the *Scots* wou'd have been in the ſame Condition when the Queen came of Age, as when this Propoſal was made to them, which of Conſequence muſt appear advantageous to them. But the violent Party was too ſtrong for the moderate, and the Propoſal was rejected with very great Contempt. Conſequently the Protector continued his March towards *Scotland*, which Kingdom he enter'd, and won a great Victory over the *Scots*, in which they loſt 14000 Men, beſides 1500 Priſoners, of whom 800 were Gentlemen *. After this Battle, the Protector ſeiz'd *Edinburgh*, and made ſuch farther Progreſs as wou'd have reduc'd *Scotland* to a fatal Extremity, or to the neceſſity of performing the Marriage Treaty. But during

Protector's Victory over the Scots *at* Muſſelburgh.

* This Battle was fought in 1547, the 10th of *September*.

this,

this, the Protector being inform'd of the Conſpiracies which his Brother the Admiral was forming to ruin him, quitted *Scotland* abruptly to return to Court, and loſt all the Fruit of his Victory, by not following the Blow. *A.* 1548.

Earl of Shrewſbury *made his Lieutenant General.*

IN 1548. after the Storm gathering againſt him was blown over, by the death of his Brother, he reſolv'd to repair his Miſtake by continuing the War againſt *Scotland*. But being loth to command in that Country himſelf, he put the Army under the Conduct of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, whom he appointed his Lieutenant, by virtue of a new Patent from the King which gave him the Power of ſuch Nomination.

Browghty *Caſtle beſieg'd by the* Scots.

WHILE this Army was preparing in *England*, the Regent of *Scotland* beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Browghty*, which the *Engliſh* had taken in the preceding War, and he was three Months before that place with all the Forces of the *Scots*; which gave the *Engliſh* Time and Opportunity to be Maſters of the Caſtle of *Hadington*, and to fortify it, which place being but 12 Miles from *Edinburgh*, was a very great Annoyance to that Capital.

And Hadington. *They receive Succours from* France.

BUT it being not long before the *Scots* receiv'd a Succour of 6000 Men from *France*, under Command of *Deſſe d' Epainvilliers*, they join'd him with 8000 Men of their own Troops, and went and beſieg'd *Hadington*; and 'twas during this Siege, that after ſeveral Conferences between the *French* and *Scots*, a Reſolution was taken to ſend the young Queen of *Scotland* to *France*. Indeed the Propoſal met with vaſt Oppoſition from many of the great Men, who fear'd what wou'd be the Conſequence of ſo important a Reſolution; but the

French

Ed. VI. *French* Party prevail'd. The Queen Dowager earneſtly wiſh'd for the Marriage of her Daughter to the Dauphin. On the other hand, the King of *France* threaten'd to call home his Troops, and wou'd not continue his Aſſiſtance of *Scotland* any longer but on condition that the Queen ſhou'd be put into his Hands. At length he gain'd the Regent by offering him the Title of Duke of *Chatelherault* in *France*, together with 12000 Livres *per Annum* in Land; and the young Queen was ſent to *France* with the ſame Ships that had brought over the *French* Succours.

Regent made D. of Chatelherault.

Queen of Scotland *ſent to* France.

Mean time, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* putting himſelf at the Head of an Army, conſiſting of *Engliſh*, and a Body of Landſquenets which was ſent for from *Germany*, caus'd the Siege of *Hadington* to be rais'd, and threw a freſh ſupply of Proviſions into it; after which he advanc'd farther into *Scotland*, in order to offer the Enemy Battle, but perceiving that they wou'd not accept it, he retir'd. After he was withdrawn, *Deſſe* made an Incurſion into *England*, and advanc'd to *Newcaſtle* without meeting with any Oppoſition; but what became of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and his Army, we know not.

Siege of Hadington *rais'd.*

It was not long e'er the *Scots* repented of ſending their Queen to *France*. For ſhe was no ſooner gone, but the *French* began to lord it over *Scotland*. *Deſſe* treated the *Scots* with a deal of Contempt, and in a little time *Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence*, came over to exerciſe the Office of Great Chancellor in *Scotland*. But upon the Complaints of the Queen Dowager, they were both recall'd, and the Court of *France* ſent *Thermes* to ſupply the place of *Monluc*.

French *lord it in* Scotland.

IN 1549, the Protector put the Earl of *Warwick* at the Head of an Army, in order to act againſt *Scotland*, but was oblig'd to employ it againſt the Rebels in *Norfolk*, who were become very formidable; for which reaſon, deſpairing of being able to keep *Hadington*, he caus'd the Fortifications of it to be demoliſh'd, for fear it wou'd fall into the Hands of the *Scots*, as *Broughty Caſtle* did, which they had juſt taken. *A.* 1550. *Forces ſent againſt the Rebels in* Norfolk. Hadington Caſtle *demoliſh'd.*

THIS, properly ſpeaking, put an end to the War with *Scotland*, from which the Protector cou'd no longer hope for Advantage, becauſe, even tho he had made greater Efforts, he cou'd never have attain'd to the end which he propos'd to himſelf when he began the War, I mean the performance of the Marriage Treaty, ſince the young Queen was in the Hands of the King of *France*. At length a Peace being renew'd in 1550, betwixt *France* and *England*, certain Articles were inſerted in the Treaty, relating to *Scotland*, viz. the Demolition of two or three ſmall Places, which the *Engliſh* ſtill held in that Kingdom; and it was agreed that *Edward* ſhou'd no longer make War againſt *Scotland*, unleſs the *Scots* gave him ſome new occaſion to fall out with them; which was as much as to ſay, that indirectly he deſiſted from the Execution of the Contract that had been made for his Marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*. *Peace renew'd with* Fra. *and reſtor'd to* Scotland.

AFTER that time, *Scotland* was pretty quiet. The Duke of *Chatelherault* was ſtill Regent, but ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, his Baſtard Brother, a Man who led a Life not quite ſo pious as became a Clergyman. Moreover, the Regent's Authority was very much leſſen'd by his *Regent's Authority leſſen'd.*

Ed. VI. Dependence on the Court of *France*, who had the Queen in their Power, and ſent him ſuch Orders as they thought expedient.

BESIDES, the Queen *Dowager* who was ſupported at the Court of *France* by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, her Brothers, kept the Regent ſo much in Awe, that he had no more than the ſhadow of Authority; for ſtrictly ſpeaking, it was the Queen Dowager that govern'd the Kingdom.

Q. Dowager goes to France.

IN 1551, the Queen Dowager not content with a borrow'd Power, made a Voyage to *France*, on pretence of going thither to ſee the Queen her Daughter; and by the Intereſt of her Brothers, ſhe obtain'd the King's Conſent for the Regency of *Scotland*, if ſhe cou'd get leave from the Duke of *Chatelherault*. When ſhe was return'd to *Scotland*, ſhe ſent a civil Meſſage to the Duke, that it wou'd be much more to his Advantage to yield the Regency to her with a good Grace, than to be forc'd to it by Orders from the higher Powers. The Duke who was beforehand inform'd of the King of *France*'s Will and Pleaſure, was convinc'd that it wou'd be in vain for him to oppoſe it; and beſides, he was very glad to keep what he poſſeſs'd in *France*, and therefore he reſign'd the Regency to the Queen, notwithſtanding the Solicitations of the Archbiſhop his Brother to the contrary, who did all he cou'd to divert him from it.

And on her return has the Regency reſign'd to her.

Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's *Cabals among the Clergy fruſtrated by the Queen's throwing her ſelf upon the Proteſtants.*

THE Prelate miſſing his Aim, caball'd among the Clergy, in hopes of engaging them to thwart the Queen's Deſigns; which was the reaſon that in order to ſupport her ſelf againſt the Attacks of the Clergy, ſhe choſe to rely upon the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants, who were already very numerous in *Scotland*,

by granting them leave to worſhip God in their own Houſes, after their own manner. By this means ſhe preſerv'd the Regency, and baffled the Deſigns of the Archbiſhop. *A.* 1547.

The Acts relating to Scotland *are,*

I. A ſafe Conduct for the Biſhop elect of *Roſs*; dated *March* 2. 1547. at *Weſtminſter*. *Safe Conduct for the Biſhop of* Roſs. 131.

II. CONVENTIONS between *Edward* VI. and certain *Scots* Gentlemen; dated *March* 9. 1547. at the Caſtle of *St. Andrews*. In Subſtance as follows, Edward's *Conventions with ſome* Scots *Gentlemen.* 131.

1. THAT they ſhall uſe their Endeavour to have the Marriage accompliſh'd; that they ſhall give Hoſtages for the performance thereof, and declare againſt thoſe who are for a War with the *Engliſh*.

2. THAT during the Queen's Minority, they ſhall not ſuffer *St. Andrew's Caſtle* to be put into the Hands of the Queen Dowager, or the Regent, without the Conſent of the King of *England*.

3. THAT they ſhall deliver up the Regent's Son, who is in their Hands, to the King.

4. THAT the King ſhall maintain for them 120 Foot, and 40 Horſe for the Guard of the Caſtle of *St. Andrew*.

5. THAT he ſhall furniſh them with Artillery and Ammunition.

6. THAT he ſhall grant them Penſions.

7. THAT he ſhall put them in poſſeſſion of their Eſtates in *Scotland*, or elſe make them amends in *England*.

III. CONDITIONS propos'd to the King by *Patrick* Lord *Gray*, Lord of *Angus*; dated *March* 11. 1547. at *St. Andrew's-Caſtle*, viz. *Lord* Gray *of* Angus's *Terms propos'd to the King.* 142.

Ed. VI.

1. THAT his Brother be reſtor'd to him who is now an Hoſtage.

2. THAT Aſſiſtance be given him to take *St. Johnſtown*.

3. HE engages to uſe his Efforts to accompliſh the Marriage, and to deliver up the Queen to *Edward*.

4. TO keep *St. Johnſtown* for the King.

5. TO deliver up one of it's Caſtles.

6. TO aſſiſt the King with all his Power.

Engagement of the Scots *Conventioners.* 144.

IV. THE Engagement of the *Scots* Gentlemen nam'd in the Conventions of *March* 9. relating to thoſe Conventions; dated *March* 15. 1547. at the Caſtle of *St. Andrews*.

Earl of Bothwel's *Patent.* 190.

V. *EDWARD* VIth's Letters Patent in favour of *Patrick*, Earl of *Bothwell*; dated *Sept.* 3. 1549. at *Weſtminſter*.

'THE Earl of *Bothwell* having recogniz'd '*Edward* for Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*, the 'King takes him into his Protection, grants 'him a Penſion of 3000 Crowns, promiſes to 'maintain 100 Horſe for him, and to reward 'him in *England*, in caſe he loſe his Lands in '*Scotland*.

Articles relating to Scotland *in the Treaty betwixt* Fra. *and* England *about* Boulogne. 211.

VI. ARTICLES relating to *Scotland* inſerted in the Treaty betwixt *France* and *England*, for the Reſtitution of *Boulogne*; dated *March* 24. 1550. in a Field near *Boulogne*, in ſubſtance as follows, *viz.*

THAT the Forts of *Douglas* and *Ladre* be reſtor'd to the Queen of *Scotland*.

THAT if thoſe two places are out of the King of *England*'s Power, he ſhall in lieu thereof cauſe *Aymouth* and *Roxburgh* to be demoliſh'd, and that theſe two places ſhall not be rais'd again by either of the two Parties.

THAT

THAT if the King of *England* reſtore *Douglas* and *Ladre*, and the Queen of *Scotland* is diſpos'd to demoliſh them, he ſhall be oblig'd to cauſe *Aymouth* and *Roxburgh* to be demoliſh'd alſo, under the ſame Condition, that they ſhall not be rais'd again either by the *Engliſh* or *Scots*. *A.* 1551.

THAT the King of *England* ſhall not attack *Scotland*, if the *Scots* don't give him freſh occaſion.

ALL other Pretenſions of *England*, *France* and *Scotland* are reſerv'd reciprocally.

VII. THE Ratification of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, as far as what concerns her in the Treaty made for the Reſtitution of *Boulogne*; dated at *Edinburgh* the 13th of the Calends of *May* 1551. *Q. of* Scots *Ratification.* 255.

VIII. COMMISSION of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, to treat with *Edward*; dated *May* 8. 1551. at *Edinburgh*. *Her Treaty with* Edward. 263.

IX. SAFE Conduct for the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, returning thro' *England*, in her way from *France* to *Scotland*; dated *May* 12. 1551. at *Weſtminſter*. *Q. Dowager's Paſſport.* 269.

X. A particular Treaty betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; dated at *Norham*, *June* 10. 1551. in ſubſtance as follows, *viz.* *Treaty with* Scotland. 265.

THE Boundaries ſhall be the ſame as they were before the War betwixt *Henry* VIII. and *James* V.

THE Lands diſputed, or the debateable Grounds ſhall be upon the ſame Foot.

BERWICK to be a free Town, independent on either of the two Kingdoms.

THE Houſe and Mill of *Edrynton* ſhall be reſtor'd to *Scotland*.

Ed. VI. XI. THE Paſsport for the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, renew'd by an Act dated *Sept.* 17. 1551. at *Weſtminſter*.

Treaty with Scotland. 316. XII. TREATY betwixt *England* and *Scotland* about the debateable Lands; dated *Sept.* 24. 1552. on thoſe Lands.

Ratification. 319. XIII. RATIFICATION of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*; dated *Nov.* 9. 1552. at *Jedburgh*.

ARTICLE III.

Affairs with France.

IN 1547, immediately after the Death of *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. ſent an Ambaſſador to *Edward* VI. to congratulate him, and to renew the Alliance lately made with the King his Father. This Embaſſy was productive of two Treaties, which were concluded at *London March* 11. 1547. The firſt was only a Confirmation of the Alliance between the two Crowns. The ſecond regulated the Limits of *Boulogne*, while that place remain'd in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and the Demolition or Continuation of certain Fortifications which had been begun in the Neighbourhood of *Boulogne* before or after the late Treaty.

Treaties with Fra.

FRANCIS I. dying the 31ſt of *March*, 20 Days after the Concluſion of the Treaties I have now mention'd, without having ratify'd them, the Council of *England* gave Order to *Nicholas Wootton*, Ambaſſador in *France*, to congratulate *Henry* II. the new King of *France*, and to deſire the Ratification of the two Treaties concluded at *London*. But the Court of *France* by changing their Sovereign, had alſo chang'd their Maxims and Politicks, and form'd other Projects. The Duke of *Guiſe*, and

and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who had a great share of Credit with the new King, perſuaded him that it was his Intereſt to hinder the King of *England* from marrying the Queen of *Scotland*; that for this end he ought to ſupport the *Scots*: and that to prevent the *Engliſh* from making a Diverſion in *France*, by means of *Boulogne*, it was abſolutely neceſſary before all things, to regain that place, coſt what it wou'd. *Henry* purſuing this Advice, refus'd to ratify the two Treaties concluded at *London*, and diſown'd the Ambaſſador of the King his Father who had ſign'd them. He thereby not only reſerv'd to himſelf a Cauſe of Quarrel, touching the Limits and Fortifications of *Boulogne*, but by refuſing to renew the Alliance, he alſo manifeſtly ſhew'd that he had a Deſign to break the Peace. For, this very Year, he ſignify'd to the Protector, that if he did not cauſe a ſtop to be put to the Works that were carrying on at the Fort of *Bullenberg*, he ſhou'd reckon it an Infraction of the Peace. It had been expreſly agreed in the Treaty, that all the Works that were begun before the Peace, might be perfected; and as thoſe of the Fort of *Bullenberg* were of this Claſs, the Protector was manifeſtly authoriz'd by the Treaty to continue them. Nevertheleſs as a new War with *France* was no ways conſiſtent either with the Deſigns he had form'd, or with his own private Intereſts or thoſe of the Kingdom, he caus'd the Works that were begun to be diſcontinued.

A. 1548.

Which the new K. of France *refuſes to ratify.*

BUT this Moderation of his was not capable to avert that War from him which he was afraid of. For in 1548, the King of *France* ſent 6000 Men to the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, and

He ſends Succours to the Scots, *and takes away the Queen.*

Ed. VI. and carry'd off the Queen of *Scotland* from the King of *England* to whom she had been promis'd in Marriage. Nor did he stop there, for in 1549, taking the opportunity with which the Rebellions then in *England* furnish'd him, he enter'd into the *Boulonnois*, at the Head of an Army, without declaring War, and after having taken in some of the Forts about *Boulogne*, he laid Siege to that City. It had been agreed by the last Treaty of Peace, that the King of *France* shou'd pay the King of *England* two Millions of Crowns of Gold in 8 Years time, and that during that space *Boulogne* shou'd remain in the Hands of the *English*. But *Henry* II. wanted to have the place, not only before the Time fix'd by the Treaty, but also without paying the Sum, therein stipulated. The only reason he alledg'd to justify his Proceeding was, that the War which *Henry* VIII. made against *Francis* I. was unjust, and that by Consequence it was allowable for him to lay hold of the opportunity that presented to make *France* amends for her Losses. But besides that the greatest part of the two Millions was due to *Henry* VIII. before he had taken *Boulogne*, if the Reason urg'd by the King of *France* ought to have taken place, no Treaty of Peace wou'd ever have been concluded that cou'd be rely'd on. Be that as it will, *Henry* II. caring very little what the *English* or the Publick cou'd say about his Conduct, continu'd the Siege of *Boulogne*. But his Army being infected with the Plague, he left the Command of it to *Gaspar de Coligny*, who was at length oblig'd to turn the Siege into a Blockade.

K. of Fran. *besieges* Boulogne.

A Plague in the French *Army.*

THIS

A. 1550.

The Protector's Reasons for declining a new War.

THIS new War made the Protector extremely uneasy for many Reasons. In the first place, he was for establishing the Reformation in *England* on a good Footing, for which a time of War was not a fit Juncture. *Secondly*, He knew that the King of *France* had promis'd a great Supply to the Protestants of *Germany*, as soon as he shou'd have recover'd *Boulogne*, from whence he inferr'd that the said Monarch wou'd make a powerful Effort next Campaign to execute his Design. By Consequence, *England* wou'd be expos'd to a very considerable Expence to maintain this War. In the third place, the King's Coffers were empty, and the Protector was afraid of a new Rebellion, if he shou'd be forc'd to oppress the People. *Fourthly*, He was in as much Fear of the Nobility, among whom he had a great number of Enemies. *Fifthly*, Nothing cou'd be more for the Advantage of the Reformation than the Union of *France* with the Protestants of *Germany*, to which his intention of keeping *Boulogne* was intirely opposite: All these Reasons made him resolve to propose the surrender of *Boulogne*, in Council. But a Conspiracy being already form'd to ruin him, the Proposal was receiv'd with Indignation, and the Protector's Enemies made this their main Handle, to act openly against him, as I mention'd before in the Article of Domestick Affairs.

IN 1550, the Duke of *Somerset* being remov'd from Council, the Earl of *Warwick* and the rest of the Counsellors were as much perplex'd as he, what to do in the Affair of *Boulogne*. The King of *France* was just ready to attack the Place with all his Forces; and there had been no Preparation to defend it, tho

Ed. VI. tho the Council made ſuch a Noiſe of the Diſhonour it wou'd be to give it up. 'Twas reſolv'd therefore to reſtore *Boulogne* to *France*, and all the Difficulty now conſiſted in a Punctilio of Honour, which did not permit *England* to make advances on that Subject. But this Scruple was remov'd by means of *Guidotti*, a Merchant of *Florence*, who liv'd at *Southampton*; which Merchant being privately ſent to *Paris*, found means to get ſome looſe Propoſal in Commiſſion from the Conſtable of *Montmorency*: And upon this Foundation, the two Courts ſent Plenipotentiaries to *Picardy*, where the Treaty was ſoon concluded on the 24th of *March* 1550. By the ſaid Treaty *Boulogne* was reſtor'd to *France*, on paying a Sum of 400000 Crowns in Gold, one half at the time of Reſtitution, the other before the 15th of *Auguſt*.

The Reſtitution of Boulogne *to* France.

The Garter ſent to the Fre. *King.*

In 1551, the King by the Earl of *Warwick*'s Direction, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* II. to carry him the Order of the Garter, and to propoſe a Match to him betwixt their King and his Daughter *Elizabeth*; which propoſal being accepted, the Marriage Treaty was ſign'd at *Angers* the 19th of *July*, but 'twas not to be conſummated till the Princeſs was twelve Years old. It was given out by many, that the Earl of *Warwick* had nothing in View but to amuſe young *Edward*, who he well knew wou'd die before the time was come for the Conſummation of the Marriage.

Marriage Treaty for Edward *with the King of* France's *Daughter.*

The Acts which relate to France *are,*

Conventions about Boulogne. 126.

1. A Commiſſion from *Francis* I. to agree with *Edward* VI. about the River of *Boulogne*, and certain points relating to the Fortifications; dated *Feb.* 15. 1547. at *la Muette*.

2. A

2. A Treaty about the Limits of *Boulogne*; dated *March* 11. 1547. at *London*. *A.* 1550.

3. ANOTHER for confirming that of *June* 7. between *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII. of the ſame Date as the former. 135. 139.

4. A Commiſſion from *Henry* II. to treat of a Peace with *England* at a place to be agreed on; dated *Jan.* 20. 1550. at *Fontainbleau*. Henry's *Commiſſion to treat with* England. 202.

5. A Treaty for the Reſtitution of *Boulogne*, which was concluded betwixt *Boulogne*, and *Fort d' Outreau* on the Banks of the River *Lyane*; dated *March* 24. 1550, and importing, *Reſtitution of* Boulogne. 211.

'That there ſhall be a true, ſtable, firm, inviolable, ſincere, perpetual and certain Peace, Friendſhip, Confederacy, Union, League, and Harmony, *&c.*

'THAT *Boulogne* ſhall be reſtor'd to *France* in 6 Weeks *.

'THAT the King of *France* ſhall pay the King of *England* 400000 Crowns of Gold of the Sun †, *viz.* 200000 Crowns at the taking poſſeſſion of *Boulogne*, and 200000 Crowns by the 15th of *Auguſt*.

'ALL the other Pretenſions of *England* upon *France*, or of *France* upon *England*, are reciprocally reſerv'd.'

6. THE Atteſtation of *Francis* of *Montmorency*, and of *Gaſpar de Coligny*, that the City of *Boulogne* has been reſtor'd to them; dated *April* 25. 1550. at *Boulogne*. 228.

7. RATIFICATION of the Treaty of *Boulogne* by *Henry* II. and that King's Oath. 'Tis dated *May* 8. 1550. 232.

* THIS diſcovers a groſs Error in Sir *John Hayward's* Hiſtory, which makes it ſix Months.

† SIR *John Hayward* makes the Value of each Crown 6 *s.* 8 *d. Sterling*.

8. TREA-

Ed. VI. 8. Treaty for the Marriage of *Edward* VI. with *Elizabeth* of *France*, Daughter of *Henry* II. dated at *Angers*, *July* 19. 1551.

Edward's *Marriage Treaty.* 273.

Article IV.

Affairs of Religion.

I ſhall not enlarge much upon this Article for two Reaſons. 1. Becauſe in this Volume of the *Fœdera* we find but few important Acts on that ſubject. 2. Becauſe the Alteration which was made in Religion in the Reign of *Edward* VI. has been ſo well accounted for in the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s *Hiſtory of the Reformation* of *England*, that it wou'd be loſs of Time here to enter into a long Train of Particulars upon that Subject.

The Death of *Henry* VIII. in 1547, having deliver'd the People of *England* from that Fear and Slavery to which they were ſubject during that Prince's Reign, the Proteſtants made no longer ſcruple to declare their Sentiments, and even to preach them publickly, tho the Laws made in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. were ſtill in force. The advancement of the Duke of *Somerſet* to the Dignity of Protector, made them conceive great Hopes, becauſe that Lord was entirely of their Party. Moreover, they had the King himſelf on their ſide, together with the two Archbiſhops, ſeveral Biſhops, and others of the Heads of the Clergy, beſides a conſiderable number of Friends among the great Men, and the common People. Conſequently all the Authority was on their ſide, becauſe they were ſupported by the Government. Their Enemies who were not in ſo advantageous a Situation, were ſenſible that their

The advantageous ſituation of the Proteſtants.

their Religion cou'd expect no favour, so that without striving to alter what was now done, all they pretended to was to hinder any greater Changes. For this purpose they maintain'd that nothing cou'd be decided with respect to Religion under a Minority. Because nothing cou'd be done in it but by virtue of the King's Supremacy, they pleaded for the necessity of staying till he was of Age to exercise it, and to know Religion by himself, and not by the Eyes of another. But they that were at the Helm, wou'd by no means admit of this Maxim, which might have influence upon the other Affairs of the Government; and they maintain'd that the Royal Authority was the same, whether the King was of Age or not. *A.* 1547.

Upon this Plea they began to promote the Reformation by a general Visitation of the Churches, with a Power to the Visitors to abolish the grossest Abuses, particularly with respect to Images. *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, were the only Bishops of the whole Bench that oppos'd the Regulation which the Visitors made. They went upon the Maxim I have just now mention'd, that *no Change cou'd be made in Religion during the Minority of a King*; but for their refusal they were both confin'd, *Bonner* to the *Tower*, and *Gardiner* to his own House. The latter had his Liberty by virtue of an Act of Grace which was granted at the end of the first Session of Parliament; but in the Year following he was sent to the *Tower* for the very same Fault. *Bonner* was also restor'd to his Episcopal Functions, but he did not hold it long. Princess *Mary* complain'd likewise very bitterly, in a Letter she wrote to the Council, against the Alterations made in Religion during the King's Mino-

Bonner *and* Gardiner *confin'd for opposing the Visitation of Churches.*

Princess Mary *complains to Council against the Alterations in Religion.*

Ed. VI. Minority. But the Protector ſent her an Anſwer which convinc'd her that the King and Council did not intend to be directed by her, and that ſhe had nothing to do but to obey.

Further advances of the Parliament towards a Reformation; by Acts repealing thoſe againſt the Lollards, and the ſix Articles, by other Acts concerning the Sacrament, and the Nomination of Biſhops, and for aboliſhing private Maſſes and Chantries.

THE Parliament which met the 4th of *November*, made ſome advances towards a Reformation, beyond what had been known in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. They repeal'd certain Acts made formerly againſt the *Lollards*, revok'd the Law of the ſix Articles, confirm'd the King's Supremacy, aboliſh'd private Maſſes, and gave the Cup to the Laity in the Communion. The King was inveſted with a Power to nominate to vacant Biſhopricks, by which means the *Conges d' Eſtire*, which for ſome time paſt were only Grimace, becauſe they were always at the Pleaſure of the Court, were aboliſh'd. The Juriſdiction of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts was alſo reſtrain'd, and at length the Parliament granted the King all the Lands ſet a part for the maintenance of Chantries, and all other Revenues appropriated to ſuperſtitious Uſes, as the ſupport of Lamps, Fraternities, and other things of that Nature. This Article was paſs'd notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who foreſeeing the ill Uſe that wou'd be made of it, deſir'd that the Diſpoſition of thoſe Eſtates might be defer'd till a fit opportunity preſented to employ them for the Service of the Publick and the Church.

Proteſtants come over from Germany for Liberty of Conſcience.

THE King, the Protector, and the Parliament having manifeſted by ſuch Conduct their deſign to make a thorow Reformation, ſeveral eminent Men among the Proteſtants of *Germany* retir'd to *England*, there to enjoy that Liberty of Conſcience which was deny'd them in their own Country, after the great Advantages which

which the Emperor had gain'd over the League of *Smalcald*. Of this number were *Peter Martyr*, *Bucer*, *Ochinus*, and *Fagius*, to whom the King granted Penſions and Benefices for their ſubſiſtence. *A.* 1549.

THE Parliament, which met again on the 24th of *November* 1548. made a farther Progreſs in the Affair of the Reformation. They permitted Prieſts to marry, and approv'd the new Liturgy drawn up by their Order, in which many things were reform'd, eſpecially in the Office of the Communion: This reformed Liturgy is much the ſame that the Church of *England* makes uſe of at this Day. *Parliament's farther Progreſs in the Reformation.* *The Liturgy ſettled.*

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe advantagious Alterations, yet the greateſt number of the Reformed were diſpleas'd that matters were not carry'd further. They knew that the Protector had a great many Enemies, and were afraid that if he ſhou'd miſcarry, his Fall wou'd be the Ruin of the Reformation, in which thoſe Zealots were always oppos'd by *Cranmer*, who was for advancing it by little and little.

IN 1549, after the Prorogation of the Parliament, the new Liturgy was receiv'd in all the Churches, only Princeſs *Mary* refus'd to admit it in her Chapel. But the King and Council had reſolv'd to have compell'd her, if the Emperor's powerful Interceſſion had not prevented its being put in Execution. *Princeſs Mary refuſes it.*

THE Protector and Council being inform'd ſome time after, that a great number of Anabaptiſts were come from *Germany* into *England*, iſſued a Commiſſion in the King's Name to *Cranmer*, and ſome others, to proceed againſt them by the Laws of the Realm. An *Engliſh* Woman whoſe Name was *Joan Butcher*, or *Bocher*, otherwiſe call'd *Joan* of *Kent*, being converted *Commiſſion to try the* German *Anabaptiſts.* *An* Engliſh *Woman of that Sect burnt.*

Ed. VI. verted by them was declar'd a Heretick by the Commiſſioners, and as ſuch, deliver'd over to the ſecular Power, who condemn'd her to the Flames. The King reſiſted a long time before he cou'd be prevail'd on to ſign the Order for the Execution; and it was only owing to the vehement ſollicitations of *Cranmer*, that he ſign'd it at laſt, with Tears in his Eyes, telling the Prelate at the ſame time, that he ſhou'd be anſwerable for it in the preſence of God. But this extreme ſeverity gain'd *Cranmer* no Reputation, and he was ſure to be twitted with it as often as an opportunity offer'd*. A *Dutchman* of the ſame Sect was alſo executed in the ſame manner †. But *Cranmer* and the reſt little thought that the time was coming when they that had the Power in their Hands, wou'd treat them in the ſame manner.

And a Dutchman.

Bonner's *Conduct.*

It had been a Rule with *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* to make the greateſt Oppoſition that he

* The Author of the Notes upon this Reign in the *Complete Hiſtory of* England, Vol. II. vindicates the Archbiſhop from this ſevere Charge, on account of his Humanity and Tenderneſs of Nature; and obſerves that he was put upon it by the Council, according to the Confeſſion of *Fox* himſelf, whom he blames for Ill-will to Chnrchmen, in aſperſing a Prelate who was the chtef Inſtrument of our Reformation. —The late Biſhop *Burnet* who ſays that this *Joan Bocher* was burnt for denying the Incarnaton of Chriſt, and that ſhe was ſo extravagantly conceited and enthuſiaſtical, that ſhe was fitter for *Bedlam* than the Stake, obſerves, That the Anabaptiſts that came over from *Germany* at this time were of two ſorts; that the one only objected to the ſprinkling of Children, but the others held many Opinions that had been antiently condemned as Hereſies, of which latter ſort was this *Joan Bocher*.

† His Name was *George van Parre*; who, according to the Biſhop of *Sarum* was burnt for denying the Divinity of Chriſt.

cou'd

cou'd to all the Alterations that were making in Religion, becauſe he acted upon the Maxim I have already mention'd, touching the Authority of a King under Age; but when the thing was once decided and paſs'd into a Law, he acquieſced in it with a good Grace, and by that means ſuffer'd no Advantage to be taken of him with reſpect to his publick Actions. But it was known, that in private, he diſapproved of every thing that was done, and endeavour'd to propagate Maxims that were very dangerous. Nevertheleſs, for all his Diſſimulations, he render'd himſelf ſo ſuſpected, that the Council reſolv'd to make Tryal of him: Therefore an Order was ſent him to preach upon a certain Day in St. *Paul's* Church, *London*, and ſolidly to eſtabliſh certain Points in his Sermon, of which this was the principal, *That a Minor King has as much Authority as a King that is of Age.* He preach'd as he had been order'd, and let fall ſome equivocal and dangerous Propoſitions in his Sermon, without mentioning one Word about the main Article relating to the Authority of a King under Age. Upon this the King having appointed Commiſſioners to proceed againſt him, he was depriv'd and ſent to the *Tower*. *A.* 1550. *His Sermon and Impriſonment.*

THIS was quickly follow'd by the diſgrace of the Duke of *Somerſet*, after which the Earl of *Warwick* uſurp'd the Adminiſtration of the Government. The Pope's Party knowing that the new Miniſter wou'd be favourable to them, and unravel all that the Duke of *Somerſet* had done, began already to triumph; but their Hopes were vain. *Warwick*, who proſtituted Religion to his ambitious Views, thought that in order to ſupport himſelf, it wou'd be better for him to conform to the Inclinations of *E. of Warwick's Policy.*

Ed. VI. the King, and the majority of the People than to pretend to thwart them. He abus'd the Earl of *Southampton*, one of the moſt zealous Champions for the Pope to ſuch a degree that he broke his Heart. Conſequently they who were ſtill attach'd to the old Religion, had reaſon to be convinc'd that they had no good to expect from the Credit of the Earl of *Warwick*.

Ill Treatment of the Earl of Southampton.

See of Weſtminſter *united to* London.

IN the Year 1550, the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* founded by *Henry* VIII. was re-united to the Biſhoprick of *London*, in favour of *Nicholas Ridley*; and in order to compenſate *Thyrleby* who was Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, he was made Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Bp Gardiner *depriv'd.*

A new Confeſſion of Faith rejected by Princeſs Mary.

STEPHEN Gardiner Biſhop of *Winchester*, who was as much ſuſpected as *Bonner*, was depriv'd in the Year 1551. That ſame Year the old Religion receiv'd a mortal Stab by a new Confeſſion of Faith, in which the Maſs, the real Preſence, and Tranſubſtantiation were aboliſh'd. The Princeſs *Mary* abſolutely refus'd to conform to theſe Alterations, and finding that the King was reſolv'd to uſe her with violence, ſhe actually intended to leave the Kingdom, but was prevented *. There's ſome probability that if the Earl of *Warwick* had already form'd a Deſign to exclude her from the Succeſſion, he wou'd not have been againſt her with-drawing out of the Kingdom, becauſe ſhe cou'd not have

* BISHOP *Burnet* ſays, the Emperor eſpous'd her Quarrel ſo warmly, that he threaten'd to make War, if ſhe ſhou'd be hardly us'd; and the Merchants having then great Effects at *Antwerp*, the Council, for fear they ſhou'd be ſeiz'd, were willing to let the matter fall; and prevail'd on her to have her Maſs ſaid ſo privately as not to give Offence, which *Edward*, tho with great Regret, conniv'd at.

done

done him ſo much hurt Abroad, as at Home. *A.* 1545.

HEATH Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Cheſter* were depriv'd in the Year 1552. becauſe of their having been ſo vigorous in oppoſing the Progreſs of the Reformation. It ſeems that the Council had reſolv'd to make all the Efforts poſſible, in order to reconcile by fair means thoſe of the Biſhops who were ſtill attach'd to the old Religion, and to get rid of the moſt obſtinate of them by Deprivation; but theſe Deprivations were attended with great Difficulty. After the King had been veſted with a Power to nominate to Biſhopricks, he gave Patents to the Biſhops, which conferr'd the Sees on them *durante vitâ*; therefore in order to degrade a Biſhop, there was a neceſſity of appointing Commiſſioners, and to find out Crimes, either real or imaginary, which might render the Biſhop accuſed worthy of Deprivation. For this reaſon, the Council thought it proper that the King ſhou'd confer no more Biſhopricks but with this Clauſe or Condition, *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerit*. By that means, a Biſhop might be turn'd out of his Biſhoprick without any Examination, by the King's mere Will and Pleaſure. Queen *Mary* did not fail to make uſe of thoſe ſame Patents to turn out thoſe very Biſhops whom *Edward* had eſtabliſh'd with this Condition.

Biſhops of Worceſter *and* Cheſter *depriv'd.*

Biſhops made by the King's Patents.

Tonſtal Biſhop of *Durham* was alſo depriv'd this Year, but not ſo much on account of his Religion as for the Dignity of *Palatine*, which was annexed to his Biſhoprick, and with which the Earl of *Warwick* deſir'd to be inveſted, as he actually was after the Biſhoprick of *Durham* was ſuppreſs'd. Of this ſame Biſhoprick ſtrip'd of the Palatinate, the King founded two o-

Biſhop of Durham *depriv'd.*

Ed. VI. thers, one at *Durham*, and the other at *Newcaſtle* *.

THUS have I given the ſubſtance of the moſt material Events relating to Religion in the Reign of *Edward* VI. The Curious who wiſh to know farther Particulars, may conſult the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of* England, ſo often mention'd.

The Acts in this XVth *Volume of the* Fœdera, *relating to Religion, are.*

Act relating to the new Cathedrals. 134.

1. AN Act eſtabliſhing Commiſſioners to take care that the Conditions upon which the new Cathedrals were founded, be duly executed; dated *March* 10. 1547. at *Weſtminſter*.

Biſhop of Lincoln 155.

2. THE Creation of *Henry Holbeche* Biſhop of *Lincoln*; dated *Aug.* 19. 1547. at *Weſtminſter*.

Of Bath *and* Wells. 169.

3. THE Tranſlation of the Biſhop of St. *Davids* to the See of *Bath* and *Wells*, by Letters Patent, purſuant to the Act of Parliament for aboliſhing Elections; dated *Feb.* 3. 1548. at *Weſtminſter*.

Peter Martyr's *Penſion.* 170.

4. THE grant of a Penſion of 40 Marks for Life, to *Peter Martyr* a *Florentine*; dated *May* 9. 1548. at *Weſtminſter*.

* THE former was to have 2000 Marks Revenue, and the latter 1000. There was alſo a Dean and Chapter to be endow'd at *Newcaſtle*, but the King's Death put a ſtop to the Affair; and upon the Acceſſion of *Mary*, the old Biſhoprick of *Durham* was new erected, and *Tonſtal* who was depriv'd and committed to the *Tower*, as Dr. *Burnet* ſays, upon an Information of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, was reſtor'd. See alſo *Stow's* Annals, where 'tis ſaid, that the pretence for diſſolving this Biſhoprick, was the great Extent of it, ſo that one Biſhop was not enough to take care of it.

5. LET-

5. LETTERS Patent for conferring the vacant See of *St. David's* on *Robert Ferrar*; dated *July* 31. 1548. at *Leighs*. *A.* 1548.

Biſhop of St. David's 173.

6. A Commiſſion for the Trial of the Anabaptiſt Hereticks *; dated *April* 12. 1549. at *Leighs*.

Commiſſion for the Trial of the Anabaptiſts. 181.

7. A

* *M. Le Clerc* has thought fit to ſubjoin the following Reflections to this Article. They, *ſays he*, who iſſued this Commiſſion in *Edward's* Name, as well as they who ſollicited it, did not only violate Chriſtian Charity, which does not warrant the Puniſhment of bare Errors in Judgment, but alſo tranſgreſs'd the ordinary Rules of Prudence. For theſe were not of that ſort of Anabaptiſts who were guilty of ſo many Diſorders and Crimes at *Munſter*, becauſe this Patent granted them Pardon on their Repentance; whereas the Civil Laws do nevertheleſs puniſh Rebellion, Polygamy, Murder, and the other Crimes of that Nature, of which thoſe of *Munſter* were guilty, tho there be Repentance. But in this Patent the Perſons to be try'd were ſuch as the Archbiſhops and Biſhops had a Power to pardon and enjoin Penance on, if they abandon their Sentiments. The Prelates who were empower'd to pardon them, and if the enormity of the Fact required it, to deliver them over to the Secular Arm, ought to have conſider'd that the ſame caſe might happen to themſelves, if *Mary* the eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* VIII. ſhou'd chance to ſucceed her Brother, which might eaſily be, and as ſhe did accordingly. I cannot imagine how *Cranmer* and the others, to whom this Commiſſion was directed, ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſtyl'd not only *Cognitores, Judices, & Commiſſarii*, i. e. Examiners, Judges, and Commiſſioners, but alſo *Inquiſitores*, or Inquiſitors, a Name abhor'd by the whole Body of the Proteſtants, and even by ſome of the Catholicks. For after this, they had no reaſon to complain of what Proteſtants ſuffer'd from the Roman Catholick Princes, and particularly in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. If it be objected that the Proteſtants had Truth on their ſide, that does not bring them off; for the Judges in *Mary's* time pretended to be as much in the Right as they; and as they were likewiſe both Judges and Parties, they hang'd and burnt the Proteſtants proviſionally, till God ſhou'd decide the Cauſe for them.

Biſhop

Ed. VI. 7. A Commiſſion to the Earl of *Warwick* and others to viſit the Univerſity of *Oxford*; dated *May* 8. 1549. at *Weſtminſter*.

——*Magiſtros, Præpoſitos, Præſidentes, Socios vel Scholares quoſcunque illis Officiis indignos, non proficientes, Statutis Collegii, vel commodo Reipublicæ & bonarum Latterarum id exigentibus, expellendum & amovendum, & alium vel alios in amotorum locum præficiendum & ſubſtituendum.*——

Viſitation of the Univerſity of Oxford. 183.

i. e. To expel and remove the Maſters, Wardens, Preſidents, Fellows, or all Scholars whatſoever, unworthy of thoſe Offices, and making no Proficiency, if the Statutes of the College, or the Commonwealth of Learning required it, and to prefer and ſubſtitute others in the places of thoſe remov'd.

Commiſſion for examining Bp Bonner. 191.

8. A Commiſſion to Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Ridley*, the two Secretaries of State, Sir *William Peters*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, and *William May* LLD. and Dean of St. *Paul*'s, to examine *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, with a Power to impriſon or deprive him of his Biſhoprick; dated *Sept.* 8. 1549. at *Weſtminſter* *.

9. Ano-

——————————*dolendum*

Hæc dici potuiſſe, & non potuiſſe refelli.

Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that no Severities were uſed againſt that ſort of Anabaptiſts who only objected to the Mode and Subjects of Baptiſm; tho ſome Books were written to juſtify Infant Baptiſm.

* Dr. *Burnet*'s Hiſtory takes notice with what diſreſpect and diſingenuity he carry'd it to the Delegates, and with what

9. ANOTHER explaining ſome Doubts a- *A.* 1549.
riſen upon the former one; dated the 17th of 192.
the ſame Month at *Hampton-Court*.

10. THE grant of a Penſion of 100 *l. Ster-* Bucer's
ling to *Martin Bucer* a *German*, and Profeſſor of *Penſion.*
Divinity; dated the 26th of that Month at 192.
Leighes.

11. THE grant of another to *Paul Fagius* a Fagius's.
German, alſo a Divinity Profeſſor; dated as 192.
above.

what foul Language he treated his Accuſers, ſo that he behav'd like one diſturb'd in his Brain. He call'd the Accuſers Hereticks, and ſaid they only proſecuted him becauſe they deny'd the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and that therefore they were excommunicate, and not capable to appear in any Court: And when Mr. Secretary *Smith* ſaid he had acted like a Thief and a Traytor, he told him, that as he was Secretary of State he honour'd him, but as he was Sir *Thomas Smith*, he was *a Lyar*, and he defied him. He alſo refus'd to anſwer while Sir *Thomas* was preſent, and for ſuch Contempt of the Court, he was committed to Priſon, where continuing obſtinate, tho he was promis'd gentler Uſage, he lay under Sentence of Deprivation till Queen *Mary*'s Reign; behaving, ſays Dr. *Burnet*, more like a Glutton than a Divine: for he ſent about to his Friends to furniſh him well with Puddings and Pears, and gave all to the Devil that did not ſupply him liberally. Such Curſes, adds the Hiſtorian, were ſtrange Acts of Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, yet they were mild, compar'd to thoſe he gave out when he was reſtor'd to his See in the next Reign, by which he condemn'd ſo many Innocents to the Fire. But in order to ſet this Proceſs of the Delegates againſt him in the cleareſt Light, we cannot omit the opinion of Dr. *Burnet* upon the whole matter, that it being reſolv'd to turn him out upon the firſt occaſion, the Fault was rather aggravated for his ſake, than he depriv'd for the Fault; which wou'd have been more gently paſs'd over in another, but he had been fierce and cruel, and ſo was much hated and little pity'd.

THIS

Ed. VI. THIS is the laſt piece wherein the King ſays, *By the Advice of* Edward *Duke of* Somerſet &c. for in the following Acts he ſays, *By the Advice of our Council.*

Licences for eating Fleſh in Lent. 207.

12. A Licence granted to the Earl of *Warwick*, his Family and Viſitors, to eat Fleſh in the time of Lent; dated *Feb.* 18. 1550. at *Weſtminſter.*

THERE are others of the ſame kind which ſhew that this Cuſtom was not yet much known in *England.*

See of Weſtminſter *yielded to the K.* 219.

13. *THOMAS Thyrleby's* Reſignation of the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* to the King, in order to diſpoſe of it as he ſhall think fit; dated *March* 31. 1550. at the Chapter-Houſe of *Weſtminſter.*

THESE Reſignations of Biſhopricks were by no means pardonable, becauſe a Biſhop has not ſuch a Property in his See as to diſpoſe of it. Nor is it a Farm or Leaſe of ſuch Nature, that the King has a Power to redemand it, either to appropriate it to himſelf, or to give it to any other according to his good Pleaſure. But theſe were ſome of *Henry* VIIIth's Airs, who minded no Rule but his Caprice.

Biſhop of Norwich. 221.

14. LETTERS Patent for conferring the See of *Norwich* upon *Thomas Thyrleby*; dated *April* 1. 1550. at *Weſtminſter.*

Ridley's *Tranſlation to* London. 222.

15. OTHERS for tranſlating *Nicholas Ridley* from the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter* to the See of *London*, vacant by the Deprivation of *Edmund Bonner*; dated as above.

See of Weſtminſter *join'd to* London. 223.

16. OTHERS for uniting the See of *Weſtminſter* to that of *London*, of the ſame Date.

17. THE

17. THE Denization of *John a Laſco*, a *Poliſh* Lord, who was Profeſſor of Divinity; dated *June* 27. 1550. at *Leighes* *. *A.* 1551. *Denization of* J. a Laſco. 238.

18. LETTERS Patent for conferring the Biſhoprick of *Glouceſter* upon *John Hooper*; dated *July* 3. 1550 at *Leighes*. Hooper *Biſhop of* Glouceſter. 240.

19. A Licence to found a Church at *London* for the *Germans*, with a Superintendant, and four Miniſters to be a Body Corporate; dated *July* 24. 1550. at *Leighes*. German *Church at* London. 242.

THE King gives the *Auguſtin* Friars Church for that Foundation, and appoints *John de Laſco* Superintendant of it.

20. THE Grant of a Prebend to *Peter Martyr*; dated *Oct.* 24. 1550. at *Weſtminſter*. *Grant of a Prebend to* P. Martyr. 248.

21. A Commiſſion to inquire after Anabaptiſts, and other Hereticks and Nonconformiſts; dated *Jan.* 18. 1551. at *Weſtminſter*. *Commiſſion againſt Hereticks.* 250.

22. LETTERS Patent for conferring the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* on *John Poinet* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in the room of *Stephen Gardiner* degraded; dated *March* 23. 1551. at *Weſtminſter* †. *New Bp of* Wincheſter. 253.

23. OTHERS for conferring the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter* on *John Storye*; dated *April* 26. 1551. at *Weſtminſter*. *Of* Rocheſter. 256.

* DR. *Burnet* ſays, he came over this Year with ſome *Germans* of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, who were erected by Letters Patent into a Corporation, of which he was their Superintendant; but the Doctor adds that he meddled too much for a Foreigner with *Engliſh* Affairs, and wrote againſt the Epiſcopal Habits, and againſt kneeling at the Sacrament.

† DR. *Burnet* ſays, *Poinet* had 2000 Marks in Lands aſſign'd him for his Subſiſtence: for he has a Remark, that the hungry Courtiers had beg'd the beſt Manors in ſeveral Biſhopricks, ſo that in ſome 'twas hardly poſſible for a Biſhop to ſubſiſt.

24. OTHERS

Ed. VI. 24. OTHERS for changing *St. Nicholas*'s Church in the Town of *Galloway* in *Ireland* into a College, call'd the King's College; dated the 29th *ditto* at *Weſtminſter*.

St. Nicholas Church in Galloway. 258.

25. OTHERS for conferring the Biſhoprick of *Exeter* on *Miles Coverdale*, tho a marry'd Man; dated *Aug.* 14. 1551. at *Weſtminſter*.

Bp. of Exeter. 283.

26. ORDERS for the Conſecration of *John Hooper* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; dated *March* 7. 1552. at *Weſtminſter* *.

Of Glouceſter. 297.

27. HIS Reſignation of the ſaid Biſhoprick to the King; dated *April* 26. 1552.

28. THE ſuppreſſion of the See of *Glouceſter*, and the uniting of it to that of *Worceſter* in favour of *John Hooper*, to whom the King grants it *durante vita naturali ſi tamdiu ſe bene geſſerit in eadem, i. e.* during his natural Life and good Behaviour; dated *May* 20. 1552. at *Weſtminſter* †.

The See united to Worceſter. 198.

29. THE Creation of *John Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, with the ſame Clauſe; dated *June* 18. 1552. at *Weſtminſter*.

Bp. of Lincoln. 312.

* THE Reaſon why his Conſecration was ſo long defer'd after the King had given him the Biſhoprick, we learn from Dr. *Burnet*; who ſays, that he had ſome ſcruples concerning the Epiſcopal Veſtments, and that he thought that all thoſe Garments having been conſecrated with much Superſtition, were to be reckon'd among the Elements, condemn'd by St. *Paul*: *Ridley*, *Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*, wrote to *Hooper* in Vindication of thoſe Veſtments; but he was very ſtiff, and was ſuſpended for a while from preaching, till at laſt his Scruples were ſo far ſatisfy'd, that he was content to be conſecrated in his Veſtments, and to wear them when he preach'd before the King, or in his Cathedral, tho he was diſpens'd with upon other Occaſions.

† *GLOUCESTER* was ſoon after made an exempted Archdeaconry, and he was declar'd Biſhop of *Worceſter* only. See Dr. *Burnet*.

IN

IN this Volume under the Reign of *Edward* VI. we find the ſurrender of ſeveral Monaſteries to the King, which 'tis probable *Henry* VIII. had left ſtanding; All which favour'd very much of this Prince's deſpotick Power, and cou'd not be defended by the Rules either of true Divinity or ſound Policy*. *A.* 1553. *Monaſteries reſign'd to the King.*

* FOR any other conſiderable Tranſactions in this Reign, Dr. *Nicholſon* now Biſhop of *Londonderry*, thinks the curious cannot conſult a better Regiſter than the Diary written with this King's own Hand, and ſtill preſerv'd in the *Cotton* Library, from whence the Learned Dr. *Burnet* tranſcrib'd and publiſh'd it. See the Appendix to Vol. II. of the *Reformation*.

THE full Character of this hopeful young Prince is given us by the Learned *Cardan*, who wrote it after his Death, and in *Italy*, where this Prince was counted an Heretick, ſo that there was nothing to be got or expected by flattering him; and yet 'tis ſo great, and at the ſame time ſo ſtrictly true, that we ſhall give it here in *Engliſh* before we paſs to the next Reign.

'ALL the Graces, ſays 'Cardan, were apparent in 'King *Edward*; and for the 'Tongues, he was not on'ly exact in the *Engliſh*, 'French, and *Latin*, but 'underſtood the *Greek*, *Ita*'lian and *Spaniſh*: nor was 'he ignorant of Logic, 'the Principles of natural 'Philoſophy, or Muſick, be'ing apt to learn every 'thing. The ſweetneſs of 'his Temper was ſuch as 'became a Mortal, his Gra'vity becoming the Maje'ſty of a King, and his 'Diſpoſition ſuitable to his 'high Degree. In ſhort, 'that Child was ſo bred, 'had ſuch Parts, and was 'of ſuch Expectation, that 'he look'd like the Miracle 'of a Man. Theſe things 'are not ſpoken rhetorically 'and beyond the Truth, but 'are indeed ſhort of it.—— 'In fine, he was a mar'vellous Boy. He began 'to love the liberal Arts be'fore he knew them, to 'know them before he cou'd 'uſe them; and in him 'there was ſuch an EFFORT 'of NATURE, that not only '*England*, but the World, 'has reaſon to lament his 'being ſo early ſnatch'd a'way. How truly was it 'ſaid of ſuch extraordinary 'Perſons, that their Lives 'are ſhort. He gave us an 'Eſſay of Virtue, tho he did 'not live to give a Pattern 'of

Ed. VI.

'of it. When the Gravity of 'a King was needful, he 'carry'd himſelf like a Man 'in Years, and yet was al-'ways affable and gentle 'as became his Youth.—— 'In Bounty he emulated his 'Father, who in ſome Ca-'ſes may appear to have 'been bad, but there was 'no Ground for ſuſpecting 'any ſuch thing in the Son, 'whoſe Mind was cultivated 'by the Study of Philoſo-'phy.'

DR. *Cox* was his Preceptor for Manners, and for the Knowledge of Philoſophy and Divinity, and Mr. *Cheek* for the Languages and Mathematicks. He was ſo forward in his Learning, that before he was eight Years old, he wrote *Latin* Letters to his Father, to his Godfather the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to his Uncle the Earl of *Hertford*, and to *Catherine Parr*.

TO this we ſhall add the Character of this excellent King, as drawn by the late Biſhop of *Sarum*, Vol. II. of his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*.

'HE was counted the 'Wonder of his Time: 'He was not only Learned 'in the Tongues and the 'Liberal Sciences, but knew 'well the State of his King-'dom. He kept a Table-'Book, in which he wrote 'the Characters of all the 'eminent Men of the Na-'tion. He ſtudy'd Fortifi-'cation, and underſtood the 'Mint well. He knew all 'the Harbours in all his 'Dominions, with the depth 'of Water, and way of 'coming into them. He 'underſtood Foreign Af-'fairs ſo well, that the Am-'baſſadors who were ſent 'into *England*, publiſh'd ve-'ry extraordinary things of 'him in all the Courts of '*Europe*. He had great 'quickneſs of Apprehen-'ſion, but being diſtruſt-'ful of his Memory, he 'took Notes of every thing 'he heard that was conſide-'rable, in *Greek* Characters, 'that thoſe about him might 'not underſtand what he 'wrote, which was after-'wards copied out fair in 'the Journal that he kept.

'HIS Virtues were won-'derful. When he was made 'believe that his Uncle had 'conſpir'd the Death of the 'other Counſellors, he a-'bandon'd him. *Barnaby* '*Fitz Patrick* was his Fa-'vourite; and when he ſent 'him to travel, he writ 'oft to him to keep good 'Company, to avoid Exceſs 'and Luxury, and to im-'prove himſelf in thoſe 'things that might render 'him capable of Employ-'ment at his Return. He 'was very merciful in his 'Nature, took great Care 'to have his Debts well 'paid, and had ſpecial Re-'gard to the Petitions of 'the Poor and Oppreſs'd; 'but his great Zeal for Re-'ligion crown'd all the reſt.

'It

'It was not an angry Heat 'about it that acted him, 'but it was a true Tender- 'neſs of Conſcience found- 'ed on the Love of God, 'and his Neighbours.

'THESE extraordinary 'Qualities, ſet off with great 'Sweetneſs and Affability, 'made him univerſally be- 'lov'd by his People, of 'whom ſome call'd him 'their *Joſias*, others *Ed- 'ward the Saint*, and others 'the *Phœnix*, that riſeth out 'of his Mother's Aſhes: and 'all People concluded the 'Sins of *England* muſt have 'been very great, ſince they 'provok'd God to deprive 'the Nation of ſo ſignal a 'Bleſſing as the reſt of his 'Reign would in all appear- 'ance have prov'd. And 'indeed ſo great were they, 'that as they provok'd God 'highly on the one hand, 'ſo they diſpoſed the Peo- 'ple much to that ſad Ca- 'taſtrophe which is to be 'the Subject of the next 'Reign.' A. 1550.

Q. *Mary.* WE proceed now to the Reign of Queen *Mary*, the chief Events of which we ſhall range under three Articles, *viz.* Domeſtick Affairs, religious Affairs, and foreign Affairs.

ARTICLE I.

Of Domeſtick Affairs, beginning at the Year 1553.

Proclamation of J. Gray. THE Act by which *Edward* VI. had tranſfer'd the Crown to *Jane Gray*, was not capable to fix her on the Throne. She was indeed immediately proclaim'd Queen by the Duke of *Northumberland*, purſuant to the Orders of Council, but her Reign was not many Days; for *Mary*, Siſter to the deceas'd King, ſecur'd a great number of Friends in the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, by promiſing the Inhabitants that ſhe wou'd not make any Alteration in the eſtabliſh'd Religion. Her Party was ſtrengthen'd by the ſupport of the Nobility, and at laſt the Duke of *Northumberland* was oblig'd to put himſelf at the Head of an Army to march againſt *Mary*, whoſe Friends encreas'd every Day. But he was no ſooner gone from *London* than the Council declar'd for *Mary*, and proclaim'd her; and the Duke of *Northumberland* being abandon'd by his Army, was himſelf oblig'd in hopes of ſaving his Life, to cauſe *Mary* to be proclaim'd at *Cambridge*; but notwithſtanding this he was arreſted, and afterwards put to Death. He own'd on the Scaffold that he had been always a Catholick from his Soul. But it was the opinion of many, that he only ſaid it in hopes

Mary's Promiſe to the Proteſtants.

Q. Mary *proclaim'd.*

D. of Northumberland *executed.*



QUEEN MARY.


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hopes of obtaining his Pardon *, and that in the main either of the two Religions was the leaſt of his Concern. He had committed a great overſight in not cauſing *Mary* and *Elizabeth* to be ſecur'd before *Edward* dy'd; but he had entertain'd hopes of catching them in the Snare that he had laid for them, wherein he found himſelf miſtaken. *Mary* was not at all belov'd, and yet every body declar'd for her, by reaſon they were afraid of relapſing under the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Tyranny, if *Jane Gray* his Daughter-in-Law continued on the Throne. Thus it may be truly ſaid, that this Duke was the only Cauſe of the Diſaſter of this unfortunate Princeſs, as he had been the ſole Author of her Advancement. I will not enter farther into the particulars of the Troubles at that time in *England*, for the ſake of placing *Mary* on the Throne, not only becauſe the Hiſtory of it is very well known, but becauſe the publick Acts make no mention of it. *A.* 1553.

THE Project for re-eſtabliſhing the Catholick Religion in *England*, and extirpating the Proteſtants, was almoſt the ſole Aim and Buſineſs of Queen *Mary*, during the whole Courſe of her Reign. I ſhall ſay nothing of it here, becauſe I intend to treat of it under the ſecond Head. In this I ſhall confine my ſelf to

* *FOX* clears up this matter, by telling us that he was promis'd a Pardon, tho his Head were on the Block, on condition he wou'd recant and hear Maſs; and this is confirm'd by the Author of the *Hiſtory* of *England* in two Volumes 8vo. who ſays that after the Duke had kneel'd down, and commended his Spirit into the Hands of the Lord, he look'd about as if he expected a Pardon, but none coming, he then patiently ſubmitted his Neck to the Block.

Q. *Mary.* certain things which have no relation to the Affairs of Religion; tho 'tis nevertheleſs very apparent that this bigotted Queen had a View in all her Actions to her main Deſign, which I juſt now mention'd. It was this only Conſideration that engag'd her to marry *Philip*, Prince of *Spain*, and Son to the Emperor *Charles* V. She was made to believe that ſince ſhe had form'd a Deſign ſeriouſly to promote the Converſion of her Subjects, ſhe had reaſon to fear that ſuch an Undertaking wou'd occaſion Rebellions in the Kingdom, and that in that caſe ſhe cou'd not ſubſiſt without a foreign Alliance: that an Alliance with the Emperor was the more neceſſary for her, becauſe *Mary Steuart* Queen of *Scotland*, who was in the Power of the King of *France*, and deſign'd as a Match for the *Dauphin*, had Pretenſions to the Crown of *England*, which the King of *France* wou'd think ſo plauſible, that he wou'd be inclin'd to aſſert them, and to take an advantage of the Rebellions of the *Engliſh*, if he ſaw the Queen without Friends and Allies. Theſe Reaſons were ſo convincing to *Mary*, that ſhe reſolv'd to marry *Philip*; and the Man that ſhe employ'd in negotiating it was *Gardiner*, the Perſon that firſt put her upon it, who having already ſecretly concerted meaſures with the Emperor, gave him to underſtand that he ought not to diſpute about any Conditions that ſhou'd be demanded of him: and that in order to engage the *Engliſh* to conſent to the Marriage, it was abſolutely neceſſary to yield ſome Articles to them, the execution of which might afterwards be at *Philip*'s Option, juſt as he thought fit; but that above all things there was a neceſſity of ſending a great Sum of Money to *England* to bribe the Members of Parliament, and engage them

Q. Mary's *Reaſons for Marriage.*

Gardiner *employ'd to negotiate it.*

them to approve of the Marriage *. Tho the House of Commons had already given the Queen Proofs of all the Condescension in the World, as to the Articles of Religion, yet they were all in Confusion upon the Report of this Marriage, and presented an Address to this Queen to divert her from it; but their Address was very ill receiv'd, and the Parliament immediately dissolv'd †. *A.* 1554. *Parliament dissolv'd for opposing it.*

IN the beginning of the Year 1554. the Emperor sent a magnificent Embassy to *England*, and the Marriage was concluded after the manner that *Gardiner* had contriv'd it; that is to say, the Emperor granted every thing that was desir'd of him **. *Her Marriage concluded.*

NOT long after this, happen'd the Rebellion or Conspiracy of *Wyat*, a *Kentish* Gentleman who took Arms in Company with the Duke of *Suffolk*, and several other Malecontents, to oppose the Queen's Marriage with the *Spanish* Prince. *Wyat* having gather'd an Army, advanc'd to *London* without opposition, and fancying that the Citizens wou'd take Arms in his favour, he was so rash as to enter the *Sir* Tho. Wyat's *Rebellion.*

* BP. *Burnet* says, that 400000 *l.* was order'd to be distributed for this end, at the Discretion of *Gardiner* and the Emperor's Ambassadors, great part of which was paid in hand, the Emperor having borrow'd it from some of the Free Towns of *Germany*, and the rest brought over with the Prince.

† THIS was done upon the 6th of *Dec.* 1553.

** THE Annotator upon Bishop *Godwin*'s History of this Reign in the 3d Vol. of the *Compleat History of* England, proves from the Testimony of Sir *Francis Hastings*, who flourish'd in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, and had good Authority for what he says, in his Book call'd the *Watchword*, that the secret Design of the *Spanish* Court in this Match, was not so much to establish the Papacy, as to annex the Crown of *England* to the *Spanish* Monarchy.

Q. *Mary.*

Fatal to Jane Gray, *&c.*

City with his Army, and to engage in a Street where for want of room to extend his Troops, he was taken and committed to Priſon. This Enterprize coſt the Lives of *Jane Gray* *, her Husband Lord *Guilford Dudley*, her Father the Duke of *Suffolk*, and many others, and was within an Ace of being as fatal to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; for *Wyat*, in hopes of ſaving his own Life, accus'd her of being an Accomplice in his Treaſon, but afterwards when he came to Execution, he revok'd what he had ſaid; nevertheleſs ſo deſirous were the Queen and her Miniſters of finding her Guilty, that they ſent her to the *Tower*, where ſhe was us'd very roughly. And *Gardiner* ſpeaking of the Efforts that were made to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, ſaid 'twas in vain to lop off the Branches of that Tree without cutting down the Trunk, by which he meant *Elizabeth*, whom Providence deliver'd from ſuch imminent danger †.

Wyat accuſes Elizabeth *who is ſent to the* Tower; *tho he afterwards retracted it.*

Queen's Marriage approv'd by Parliament, and conſummated.

THE new Parliament which met in 1554. approv'd of the Queen's Marriage; and Prince *Philip* arriv'd ſoon after, with a great Sum of Money, to make good *Gardiner*'s Promiſes to thoſe he had hir'd, to obtain the Approbation of the two Houſes; and ſo the Marriage was conſummated.

* THE two firſt were beheaded the 12th of *February* 1554. and the laſt on the 23d of the ſame Month. See Biſhop *Godwin*'s and Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtories, to which we refer for their Behaviour.

† SHE was led into the *Tower* by the Traytor's Gate, ſo ſtrictly guarded, that none but Spies were admitted to her, and deny'd the Liberty of walking on the Leads, or the ordinary Comforts of Air; and tho ſhe was ſent to *Woodſtock* when nothing cou'd be made out againſt her, yet ſhe was kept under ſtrict Guards, and very roughly us'd by Sir *Henry Benniſield*. See *Burnet's Hiſtory*.

P H I-

PHILIP's arrival was happy for *Elizabeth*, becauſe at his Intreaty, the Queen laid aſide the Deſigns which ſhe had form'd againſt her. It was pretended that *Philip* did this more out of Policy than good Nature; for no doubt he conſider'd that if *Mary* ſhou'd die without Iſſue, the Crown of *England* might go to the young Queen of *Scotland*, and by Conſequence to the Dauphin, who by that means might one Day annex all *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* to the Monarchy of *France*; whereas if *Elizabeth* was living, ſhe wou'd be a Bar to ſuch Union. *A.* 1555. Philip's *arrival happy for* Elizabeth.

IN 1555, the Queen fancying her ſelf with Child, at the end of 9 Months thought ſhe was juſt ready to be brought to Bed, and Couriers were actually poſted to carry the News of her Delivery to ſeveral Courts; but it happen'd that ſhe was miſtaken *. They ſay, that Q. Mary's *falſe Conception.*

* BISHOP *Godwin* ſays, ſhe had that ſort of Swelling which Phyſicians call a Mole, and that other Symptoms of Pregnancy ſeeming to concur, ſhe gave her ſelf up to the Tales of Midwives, and neglecting the Advice of Phyſicians, affirm'd ſhe felt the Motion of the Embryo, upon which, tho it turn'd to a Dropſy in proceſs of Time, the Privy Council, on the 27th of *November* ſent a Letter to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, which *Hollingſhed* has ſet down in his Chronicle, requiring him to publiſh the good News throout his Dioceſe, that *Te Deum* might be ſung for it in his Cathedral, and all other Churches, and that all the Clergy in their Maſſes and Divine Service, might continually pray to God, that this thing begun by his Omnipotency might be continued and brought to good Effect. In the ſame Chronicle there are alſo three Collects which were us'd upon that occaſion. The Biſhop adds, that much ado there was with all the neceſſary Proviſion of Cradle, Clouts, and ſuch Trumpery, againſt the good Hour; but to no purpoſe, for in the Month of *June* they were undeceiv'd,

Q. *Mary.* that *Philip* was told there was no hopes of the Queen's ever having any Children, and that this put him out of Conceit with his Spouſe, who beſides was no extraordinary Beauty. Be this as it will, he left her and went to the *Low Countries*, where ſoon after, *viz. Octob.* 25. 1555. the Emperor his Father reſign'd his Dominions to him in a Convention of the Eſtates at *Bruſſels*.

Philip leaves her.

Emperor reſigns his Dominions to him.

THE two following Years were employ'd wholly in perſecuting the Proteſtants, as we find in Dr. *Burnet*'s *Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

A Member of the H. of Commons ſent to Priſon, for oppoſing a Motion to give the ſame Sanction to the Queen's Proclamations as to Acts of Parliament.

IN 1558, ſome of the Court Party in the Houſe of Commons, propos'd the giving of the ſame Authority to the Queen's Proclamations, or Patents, as to Acts of Parliament. But one of the Members ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the Motion, for this Cauſe eſpecially, that at this rate it wou'd be entirely in the Queen's Breaſt to alter the Order of the Succeſſion. The Houſe was alarm'd at his Speech, and ſo

ceiv'd, and the Nation wak'd from this ridiculous Dream, which had even infected the Parliament, who made an Act, veſting King *Philip* with the future Government and Education of the Child, if the Mother ſhou'd die before it was grown up. But ſays Biſhop *Godwin*'s Annotator, Happy was it that the Heir of this Kingdom, and the Kingdom it ſelf, had no occaſion for the Government of that King of *Spain* and his *Spaniards*.

DR. *Howel* ſays, the Queen's Delivery was taken to be ſo certain, becauſe the Queen took her Chamber, and the Court ſwarm'd with Midwives, that ſome were puniſh'd but for queſtioning it; that the Bells were rung, Bonfires flam'd, and Proceſſions were made for Joy that a Prince was born; and ſome in their Sermons fondly deſcrib'd his Beauty. Some ſaid this Rumour was ſpread in Policy, and that the Queen to put the Lady *Elizabeth* beſide the Crown wou'd have Mother'd another Woman's Child, but King *Philip* ſcorn'd to Father it.

diſguſted that any one of their Members ſhou'd offer to ſuſpect the Queen's having ſuch a Deſign, that they committed him to Cuſtody *. Nevertheleſs this was ſufficient to let the Queen ſee that it wou'd not be eaſy for her to deprive the Princeſs *Elizabeth* of her Right; and this made her hate her Siſter the more who was for ſome time in great danger. The Queen eaſily foreſaw that *Elizabeth* who was a Proteſtant in her Heart, and whoſe Intereſt it was to be ſo, wou'd kick down all that ſhe had built, whenever ſhe aſcended the Throne. *A.* 1558.

THIS was the occaſion of terrible uneaſineſs to *Elizabeth*, who was forc'd to carry it as fair as poſſible to the Queen, even ſo far as to diſſemble her Sentiments about Religion, to go frequently to Confeſſion, and to have Maſs ſaid in her Houſe. Not long after, ſhe was demanded in Marriage by the King of *Sweden*, who caus'd it to be propos'd to her before one word was ſaid of it to the Queen; but *Elizabeth* behav'd ſo well in ſo tickliſh an Affair, that ſhe gave her Enemies no Advantage over her: And at laſt, the Death of *Mary* which happen'd *Nov.* 1558, deliver'd *Elizabeth* from all her Fears, and from the danger to which ſhe was continually expos'd *.

Elizabeth's *Complaiſance to the Queen.*

Elizabeth *rejects the* K. *of* Sweden's *Courtſhip.*

Q. Mary's *Death.*

The Acts in the XVth *Volume of the* Fœdera *relating to the Domeſtick Affairs of this Reign; are,*

1. A Proclamation by which the Queen remits to her Subjects two Tenths, two Fif-

Act for remitting the Subſidy granted to K. Edward. 335.

* BP. *Burnet* ſays his Name was *Coxley*; but in the Notes on *Godwin*'s Hiſtory he is call'd *Copley*.

* SHE dy'd of a Dropſy the 17th of *November* in the 43d Year of her Age, after ſhe had reign'd 5 Years 4 Months and 11 Days.

teenths,

Q. *Mary.* teenths, and a Subsidy of 4 *s.* in the Pound on Land, and 2 *s.* 8 *d.* on Goods and Chattels that was granted to the late King for the payment of his Debts. This Act has no Date but that of the Year 1553.

D. of Norfolk's *Pardon.* 337. 2. An Act for the Pardon of the Duke of *Norfolk*; dated *Auguſt* 29. 1553. at *Weſtminſter* *.

Earl of Shrewſbury's *Patent.* 337. 3. Letters Patent conferring the Office of Lord Preſident of the Council in the North, on *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury*; dated *Sept.* 10. 1553. at *Richmond.*

Queen's Coronation 338, *to* 340, &c. 4. Several Acts relating to the Queen's Coronation.

Marquis of Northampton's *Pardon.* 360. 5. An Act for the Pardon of *William Parre* the Marquis of *Northampton*; dated *Jan.* 13. 1554. at *Weſtminſter.*

Grants to the Still-yard Company. 364. 6. An Order that the Merchants of the *Hanſe-Towns*, call'd the Society of the *Still-Yard*, enjoy all their Privileges; dated *Jan.* 15. 1554. at *Weſtminſter.*

7. A Licence to the ſaid Merchants to export Woollen Cloth as uſual, for the Term of three Years, dated the 17th *ditto* at *Weſtminſter.*

These two Grants were directly contrary to two Acts of Parliament; the former to an Act of *Tonnage and Poundage*, which was paſs'd the Year before in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; the latter to an Act paſs'd in the Reign of *Edward* VI. by which the *German* Company of the *Still-Yard* had been ſuppreſs'd. This was the Firſt-fruit of *Mary*'s Marriage to the Emperor's Son.

Marriage Treaty. 377. 8. A Treaty for the Queen's Marriage to *Philip*;

* He had been a Priſoner ever ſince his Son the Earl of *Surry* was put to Death by *Henry* VIII.

THE Queen's Ratification of it is dated in *March* 1554. at *Weſtminſter*. A. 1554.

THE chief Stipulations of the Treaty are theſe.

I. THAT by virtue of this Marriage, *Philip* ſhall enjoy all *Mary*'s Titles, and aſſiſt her in the Government of her Dominions. *Salvis tamen Legibus, Juribus, Privilegiis & Conſuetudinibus eorundem Regnorum, & etiam nominatim cauto & convento, quod D. Princeps, Dominæ Conthorali ſuæ Reginæ Mariæ omnimodam diſpoſitionem omnium Beneficiorum, Officiorum, Terrarum, Redituum, Fructuum,* &c. *relinquet, quodque ea dabuntur Originariis,* &c.

i. e. Saving the Laws, Rights, Privileges and Cuſtoms of the ſaid Kingdoms; and be it alſo expreſly provided and agreed, that the Lord the Prince ſhall leave it to the Lady Queen *Mary* his Conſort to diſpoſe of all Benefices, Offices, Lands, Revenues, Profits, *&c.* and that they ſhall be given to Natives, *&c.*

II. THAT *Mary* ſhall bear the Titles of her Husband, and that her Jointure ſhall be 60000 Pounds *per Annum*, and that 40000 thereof be aſſign'd to her on *Spain*, and the other 20000 on the *Low Countries*.

As to the Succeſſion of the Children,

THE Sons and Daughters ſhall ſucceed to the Mother's Eſtate, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*.

AS to the Father's Eſtate, Reſervation is made to Don *Carlos*, *Philip*'s Son, by the firſt Venter, of the Succeſſion of *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, and all the Domains of *Italy*,

on

Q. *Mary.* on his Paying the 40000 Livres ſettled on *Mary* for her Jointure; to which Kingdoms and Domains, the Deſcendants of Don *Carlos* ſhall ſucceed.

THE Children that ſhall be born of *Philip* and *Mary* ſhall ſucceed to the Domains of the *Netherlands*.

THERE were ſeveral other Articles under this Head which it wou'd be needleſs to mention in particular, becauſe there were no Children by this Marriage.

The Articles annex'd to the Treaty.

THAT *Philip* ſhall have none in his Service but the Queen's natural born Subjects.

THAT he ſhall not bring Foreigners into *England*, to make the *Engliſh* uneaſy, and that he ſhall puniſh the Contraveners.

THAT he ſhall make no Alteration in the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*.

THAT he ſhall not carry the Queen out of the Kingdom, unleſs ſhe deſire it, and that he ſhall not convey her Children from thence without conſent of the *Engliſh* Nobility.

IN caſe that the Queen dies firſt, and leaves Iſſue behind her, *Philip* ſhall not pretend any Right to the Kingdom.

THAT he ſhall not carry away the Jewels of the Queen, or of the Crown, nor make any Alienation of what belongs to the Kingdom.

THAT *England* ſhall not directly nor indirectly be involv'd in the Wars of the Emperor againſt *France*.

Ld Howard *made Admiral.* 1554.

9. A Patent to *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, for the Office of High Admiral; dated *April* 8. 1554. at *Weſtminſter*.

10. A

10. A Proclamation notifying the Titles of the King and Queen; dated *July* 27. 1554. at *Winchester*. They were these: *A.* 1557. *Royal Titles.* 404.

Philippus & Maria, Dei gratiâ, Rex & Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Jeruſalem & Hiberniæ, Fidei Defenſores, Principes Hiſpaniarum, & Siciliæ, Archiduces Auſtriæ, Duces Mediolani, Burgundiæ, Brabantiæ, Comites Haſpurgi, Flandreæ & Tyrolis.

11. CONFIRMATION of certain Grants made by *Henry* VIII. to the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*; dated *Feb.* 17. 1555. at *Weſtminſter*. *Grants to* Anne *of* Cleves. 413.

12. LETTERS Patent for eſtabliſhing a Corporation of Kings at Arms, Heralds at Arms, Purſuivants, *&c.* dated *July* 18. 1555. at *Hampton-Court*. *Corporation of Heralds at Arms.* 423.

13. A Commiſſion for exerciſing the Office of Chancellor, vacant by the Death of *Gardiner*; dated *Nov.* 13. 1555. at *Weſtminſter*. *Seals in Commiſſion.* 426.

14. A Commiſſion to the Lord *Fitzwalter* Deputy in *Ireland*, for paſſing certain Acts in the Parliament of *Ireland*; dated the beginning of *Anno* 1557. *Commiſſion for ſigning* Iriſh *Bills.* 455.

15. LETTERS Patent for creating *Thomas Piercy* Baron *Piercy*; dated *April* 30. 1557. at *Weſtminſter*.

16. OTHERS for creating the ſaid *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*; dated *May* 1. 1557. at *Weſtminſter*. *E. of* Northumberland's *Patents.* 461.

17. OTHERS for conferring the Office of Wardens of the Marches near *Scotland* to the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Wharton*; dated *Aug.* 2. 1557. at *Richmond*. 462. 468.

18. OTHERS for conferring the Poſt of Captain General in the North, upon *Francis* Earl of *Earl of* Shrewſbury *Capt. General.* 471.

Q. *Mary.* of *Shrewsbury*; dated the 3d of the ſame Month at *Richmond.*

Article II.

Affairs relating to Religion.

Mary's *breach of her Promiſe to the* Suffolk *Men.*

MARY having aſcended the Throne with univerſal Applauſe, becauſe of the popular Hatred againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*, did not keep her word with the Inhabitants of the County of *Suffolk*, to whom ſhe had promis'd that ſhe wou'd make no Alteration in Religion, and that ſhe wou'd be content if only ſhe and her Domeſticks were allow'd the Liberty of exerciſing the Catholick Religion. The Duke of *Norfolk*, *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were immediately ſet at Liberty, and became the Queen's chief Counſellors and Miniſters. *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Heath*, *Day* and *Tonſtal* who had been depriv'd, were reſtor'd to their Sees; and they whom *Edward* VI. had ſettled therein, were turn'd out, and *Gardiner* was veſted with the Office of High Chancellor. At laſt the Queen's Council conſiſted wholly of the Pope's Creatures, and ſuch as were the moſt embitter'd againſt the Reformation. By means of ſuch Miniſters and the Changes that were made in all the Offices at Court, and thoſe of the Towns and Counties, the Queen had the ſatisfaction in her firſt Parliament to find a Houſe of Commons entirely at her Devotion. Nothing is more eaſy for a Monarch of *England* than to have what Parliament almoſt he pleaſes, before he has taken any ſtep to render himſelf odious, or to create a ſuſpicion that he has Deſigns which are pernicious

Duke of Norfolk, Gardner *and* Bonner *taken from Priſon to be her Miniſters.*

The Pope's Creatures prefer'd to all Offices.

A Court-Parliament.

cious to the Liberty of his Subjects. If this Truth ſtood in need of Proofs, a multitude of Inſtances might be produc'd both antient and modern, ſufficient to convince the moſt incredulous. *A.* 1554.

All the late Eſtabliſhments in favour of the Reformation overthrown.

MARY having therefore found means to aſſemble ſuch a Parliament as ſhe wanted, overthrew all the Eſtabliſhments made with reſpect to Religion in the two laſt Reigns, and did not fail to get the Sentence repeal'd, which had diſſolv'd the Marriage of *Henry* VIII. with *Catherine* of *Arragon*. To ſay all in a word, ſhe left no Stone unturn'd that might contribute to the Execution of the Project which ſhe had form'd to re-eſtabliſh Religion in *England* on the ſame footing that it was before *Henry* VIIIth's Quarrel with the Pope. The upper Houſe of Parliament, tho compos'd of the ſame Lords that had voted for the Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Religion in the laſt Reign, gave ſo far into the Queen's Paſſion, that in this reſpect they even out ſtripp'd the Houſe of Commons, which conſiſted of Members choſe by the Court Intereſt; for on the very firſt Day of their meeting, they turn'd out two Biſhops, becauſe they wou'd not go to Maſs, tho the Laws of *Edward* VI. were not yet aboliſh'd. 'Tis eaſy to imagine that the Court when back'd by ſuch a Parliament, made very great Advances in a little time. This whole Reign was a continued Series of the moſt flagrant Injuries done to the Proteſtants, and of a Barbarity without Meaſure, which was never ſatiated with burning thoſe that wou'd not betray their Conſciences by changing their Religion. Nay, *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who from his own Weakneſs, and the Fear of Death, had ſign'd an

Houſe of Lords more ſtrenuous for Popery, than the Queen's pack'd H. of Commons.

Cruelties of her Reign.

Cranmer's *Execution.*

Q. *Mary*. an Abjuration, was nevertheleſs burnt alive to gratify the Malice of the Queen, and the Enemies of the Reformation, who bore him a mortal Hatred. It was not enough to burn the Living, but even the Bones of the Dead were dug up and conſum'd. In a word, not to enter into the Detail of Facts that are but too well known, I ſhall only take notice that ſo great was the Barbarity ſhewn upon the ſcore of Religion, that the very Biſhops were aſham'd of it, and wou'd fain have laid it at *Philip*'s Door, but that Prince who was as cunning as they, caus'd a certain Dominican Friar, his Confeſſor, to preach a Sermon in publick, wherein he maintain'd that Hereticks were not to be converted by Tortures. All this however was but Grimace, for the King and Queen, the Miniſtry, the Biſhops, and all the reſt of the Clergy, were but too well agreed in the exerciſe of the moſt horrid Barbarity. *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the whole courſe of this Reign, among all the other Tygers ſtain'd with human Gore. *Gardiner* who was the principal Author of this Perſecution was ſo crafty as to charge *Bonner* with thoſe barbarous Executions, but he was too well known to be believ'd. Foraſmuch as the Hiſtory of this Reign conſiſts chiefly of the particulars of this horrid Butchery; what I have ſaid may ſuffice for the Underſtanding of the few Acts in this XVth Volume of the *Fœdera* that relate to the Perſecution therein carry'd on, and I ſhall only add two things that I think worthy of Remark.

The firſt is that the Queen deſir'd the Pope to ſend her a Legate, and that Cardinal *Pole* might be the Man. The Pope readily granted it;

it; but as ſhe had given ſome intimation that ſhe intended to make him her Husband, the Emperor found means to detain the Legate in his Dominions, and order'd it ſo, that he did not arrive in *England* till after the Queen's Marriage with *Philip* had been conſummated; On the other hand, *Gardiner* who had an Eye to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and was afraid that *Pole*, who had neither Affection nor Eſteem for him, wou'd come and rob him of that Benefice, as well as of the Queen's Favour, made uſe of all the Stratagems he cou'd think of to retard his coming. The Legate arriv'd nevertheleſs, and reconcil'd the *Engliſh* Nation to the Pope, after the Parliament had deſir'd Abſolution on their Knees.

A. 1549.

Q. Mary's *Paſſion for Cardinal* Pole, *whoſe arrival in* England *is retarded by the Emperor and* Gardiner.

Parliament begs the Pope's Abſolution on their Knees.

THE ſecond thing I have to remark, is the Artifices which the Court of *Rome* made uſe of to evade giving Aſſurance to the Owners of the Church-Lands, that they ſhou'd continue to enjoy them without Moleſtation. This was an Article of very great Importance. The Queen had given Pope *Julius* III. to underſtand that without ſome ſuch Aſſurance, there was great Danger that every thing which had been done till then wou'd be untwiſted. The Court of *Rome* agreed that there was an abſolute neceſſity of giving the *Engliſh* ſome ſuch Hopes, but they had a mind to deceive them, and to have it in their Power to reſtore thoſe Lands to the Church. A Bill had been propos'd in Parliament for re-eſtabliſhing the Pope's Authority in the Kingdom; but this Clauſe was inſerted in it, *viz. That the Alienations of Church-Lands ſhou'd be authoriz'd, and that the Poſſeſſor ſhou'd not be ſubject to any Cenſure or Proſecution on that account.* Now there was an abſolute neceſſity either for rejecting this

The Satisfaction deny'd by the Court of Rome *to the Owners of Church-Lands.*

Q. *Mary.* Bill, or admitting it with that Clauſe. There was no Artifice which the Pope did not make uſe of for waving his Conſent to the ſaid Article. He empower'd the Legate indeed to ratify it, but he did it with ſuch Reſtrictions as were not pleaſing to the *Engliſh*. Afterwards, on pretence of amending the firſt Power, he gave a ſecond which was liable to more Objections than the firſt, and at laſt he granted a third which was ſtill more equivocal. Nevertheleſs the Legate was oblig'd at laſt to ratify the Article, juſt as it was worded in the Bill; but at the ſame time denounc'd the Judgment of God againſt thoſe who poſſeſs'd the Lands of the Church. *Julius* III. dying before this Affair was determin'd, *Paul* IV. who ſucceeded him, openly refus'd to confirm the Legate's Conſent, and ſaid that no Pope had it in his Power to permit ſuch a thing. After this, let any one judge whether there's a poſſibility of coming to a Compoſition with the Court of *Rome* upon this Article, and whether the Acquieſcence of any Pope wou'd be ſufficient Security for the Poſſeſſors of the Church-Lands, if Popery ſhou'd ever make its Return into *Great-Britain*. *Mary* was ſo far perſwaded that the Conſent even of the Pope was not ſufficient, that ſhe reſtor'd all the Church-Lands that remain'd in her Hands.

Pope's Legate curſes the Owners of Church-Lands, at the ſame time that he ratifys their Poſſeſſion.

The Acts of this Reign in the XVth *Volume of the* Fœdera *relating to Religion; are,*

Commiſſion for trying Tonſtal's *Appeal.* 334.

1. A Commiſſion to judge of the Appeal of *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, who was depriv'd of his Biſhoprick in the Reign of *Edward* VI. 'Tis without a Date.

2. A

2. A Power to *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Chancellor, to grant Licences for preaching; dated *Auguſt* 29. 1553. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1556. *Power to grant preaching Licences.* 337.

3. RESTITUTION of the Biſhoprick of *Exeter* to *John Veſey*; dated *Sept.* 28. 1553. at the *Tower* of *London*. *Biſhoprick of* Exeter *reſtor'd.* 340.

4. PRESENTATIONS to Benefices in the room of a great number that were ejected.

5. A Commiſſion to *Gardiner*, *Tonſtal*, *Bonner*, and others, to depoſe the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhops of St. *Davids*, *Cheſter*, and *Briſtol*, by reaſon of their being marry'd; dated *March* 13. 1554. at *Weſtminſter*. *Marry'd Biſhops depos'd.* 370.

6. ANOTHER for depoſing *Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Hooper* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Harley* Biſhop of *Hereford*; dated the 15th of the ſame Month at *Weſtminſter*. *Others remov'd.* 370.

THESE had receiv'd their Biſhopricks from *Edward* VI. with the Clauſe *durante vitâ naturali ſi tamdiu ſe bene geſſerit*. Conſequently they were turn'd out of their Sees not for misbehaviour, but becauſe they were not lik'd.

7. *CONGES d' Eſlire* for the Biſhopricks of *Lincoln*, *Cheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Rocheſter*, *Hereford*, St. *Davids*, and *Glouceſter*; dated *March* 19. 1554. at *Weſtminſter*. Conges d' eſlire *for others.* 374, 375.

8. A Commiſſion to turn out the marry'd Canons and Prebendaries; dated the 29th of the ſame Month at *Weſtminſter*. *Marry'd Canons depos'd.* 374.

9. CONFIRMATION of the Elections to the Biſhopricks of *Bath* and *Wells*, St. *Davids*, *Hereford*, *Cheſter*, and *Rocheſter*; dated *April* 8. 1554. at *Weſtminſter*. *Confirmation of Election to Biſhopricks.* 383 to 389.

10. AN Order for the burning of *Tho. Cranmer* at *Oxford*; dated *Feb.* 24. 1556. at *Weſtminſter*.

Q. *Mary.*

Temporalities of Canterbury *reſtor'd to* Pole. 432.

11. RESTITUTION of the Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* to Cardinal *Pole*; dated *May* 21. 1556. at *Greenwich*.

Commiſſion to ſign Iriſh *Bills.* 451.

12. A Commiſſion to the Lord *Fitzwalter*, Deputy of *Ireland*, to ſign certain Bills in the Parliament of that Kingdom, moſt of which relate to Religion; dated *Dec.* 1. 1556. at *St. James's*.

ARTICLE III.

Foreign Affairs.

THE three firſt Years of this Reign were wholly taken up in Affairs of Religion, during which the War continued betwixt the Emperor and *France*, tho *England* was not concern'd in it.

Congreſs ſet on foot for a Peace betwixt France *and* Spain.

IN 1555, after the Emperor had reſign'd his Dominions to the Prince his Son, the latter was for making a Peace, or at leaſt ſuch a Truce as might give him leiſure to fix himſelf on the Throne. Queen *Mary* his Spouſe entring into his Views, interpos'd in 1556. for procuring ſuch Peace or Truce, and prevail'd with the two Kings to ſend their Plenipotentiaries to a place betwixt *Ardres* and *Calais*, but the Aſſembly broke up without Succeſs. The Exaltation of *Paul* IV. to the papal Throne, render'd this Peace ſtill more difficult; for this old Man, who was above fourſcore Years of Age, form'd vaſt Projects, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd by his two Nephews, who were mortal Enemies to the King of *Spain*, becauſe he ſupported the *Colonnas* whom they had a deſign to ruin. It was at the Inſtigation therefore of thoſe Nephews that he made an offenſive and defenſive League with *France* againſt

Pope's League with Fra: *againſt* Spain.

Spain. This League however did not hinder *Henry* II. from concluding a Truce of 5 Years soon after with *Philip*. But the Pope by means of Cardinal *Caraffa* his Nephew, whom he sent to him in quality of Legate, engag'd him to break the Truce, and to make a new League with him for the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*. *A.* 1557.

Truce between Fra. *and* Spain.

Pope makes a new League with Fra. *and perswades her to break the Truce with* Spain.

IN pursuance of this League, the Duke of *Guise* carry'd an Army into *Italy* in 1557. but when he came to *Rome* he found none of those Preparations made which the Pope had promis'd. Mean time *Philip* II. seeing that the Truce was broke, did all he cou'd to perswade the Queen his Spouse to declare War against *France*, and for that purpose came over to her from *Flanders*, and at length obtain'd his Desire. The Queen having declar'd War accordingly, sent a Body of 8000 Men to the *Low-Countries*, which join'd *Philip*'s Army commanded by the Duke of *Savoy*. Not long after, the Duke besieg'd *St. Quintin*, and after having defeated the Constable *de Montmorency* who advanc'd near the place, and made him his Prisoner, he took it by Storm. This Disaster oblig'd *Henry* II. to recal the Duke of *Guise* from *Italy*, and the Duke was to sooner gone from *Rome*, but the Pope made a separate Peace with *Spain*, and left *France* in the Lurch. *Henry* finding himself so much press'd, engag'd the Queen Regent of *Scotland* to break with *England*: But the *Scots* not being dispos'd to gratify the Regent's Passion, she thought 'twas her best way to urge *Henry* to hasten the Conclusion of the Marriage of the Queen her Daughter with the Dauphin, to the end that she might have the more Authority in *Scotland*. This Marriage was accordingly compleated in the Year following, *viz.* 1558.

Q. Mary *makes Wdr against* France *in favour of* Philip.

He takes St. Quintin.

Pope's separate Peace with Spain.

Queen of Scotland's *Marriage to the Dauphin.*

Q. *Mary.* THE Duke of *Guiſe* returning with his Army into *France*, quieted the Conſternation which the whole Kingdom was under after the Battle of *St. Quintin*. *Philip* II. often admoniſh'd the Queen his Spouſe and her Council to take ſpecial Care of *Calais*, but his Caution was ſo little regarded, that in the Year 1558. the Duke of *Guiſe* made himſelf Maſter of the place after 7 Days Siege, and then of all the Forts thereabouts which belong'd to the *Engliſh*. The Queen was ſo griev'd at the Loſs of it, that ſhe ſaid if her Body was to be open'd after her Death, they wou'd find the Name of it in Characters upon her Heart. *Philip* indeed wou'd fain have engag'd her to have made one Effort for the Recovery of that place, before the Enemy had render'd it ſtronger, and he alſo offer'd powerful Succours to aſſiſt in it; but 'twas all to no purpoſe: For the Queen's Council which conſiſted only of Perſons that thirſted for the Blood of the Reformed, wou'd never engage in that Undertaking, on pretence that one Year more wou'd compleat the Ruin of the Reformation, and then they ſhou'd be more at leiſure to apply to the War.

French diſpoſſeſs the Engl. *of* Calais, *&c.*

Queen's Grief for the Loſs of that place.

Her Council againſt retaking it.

PHILIP finding that no good wou'd come of that Propoſal, perſuaded the Queen at length that ſhe might repair the Loſs of *Calais* by ſeizing the Town of *Breſt* in *Bretagne*. 'Twas with this View that ſhe ſent a Fleet to Sea, commanded by the Lord *Clinton*, which made a Deſcent on *Bretagne*, and burnt the little Town of *Conqueſt*, but at the approach of the Arrier-ban, and the Militia of the Country, he put his Troops on board again after having loſt 600 Men, which was all that the Queen got by this Expedition, for the

She ſends a Fleet to make a Deſcent on Bretagne.

the great Expence she had laid out in the Preparations. This convinc'd her that she cou'd never reap any great advantage from the continuance of the War, and made her consent to the Proposal for holding a Congress at *Cambray*, there to treat of a Peace. The Negotiation for that end was begun there in *October*, about a Month before the Death of *Mary*, which happen'd on the 17th of *November*, in the 43d Year of her Age. *A.* 1558. *Congress at* Cambray.

THE foreign Affairs I have been treating of are of so little importance, that we find but two Acts in this XVth Volume of the *Fœdera* that can be said to relate to them, *viz.*

1. AN Order to raise Troops; dated *Feb.* 9. 1557. at *Westminster*. *Order to raise Troops.* 456.

THIS Date is of importance, because it shews that *Mary* intended to make War against *France* in the Month of *February*, tho she did not declare it till *June* following.

2. A Commission to the Earl of *Clinton* to command the Fleet design'd against *France*; dated *April* 12. 1558. at *Westminster*. *Ld* Clinton's *Commission for a Descent on* France. 492.

THIS ends the Reign of Queen *Mary*, who, says Dr. *Howel*, in less than 4 Years space, thro' a blind Zeal for Religion, more than from her natural Temper, caus'd 277 Protestants to be put to Death; of whom there were burnt 5 Bishops, 21 Ministers, 8 Gentlemen, 48 Artificers, 100 Husbandmen, Servants and Labourers, 26 Wives, 20 Widows, 9 Virgins, 2 Boys, and 2 Infants, one of them whip'd to Death by bloody *Bonner*, and the other springing out of its Mother's Womb as she burnt at the Stake, and thrown back into the Fire. Moreover 64 others were persecuted for their profession of the true Christian Doctrine, of whom 7 were whip'd, 16 perish'd in Dungeons, and were bury'd in Dunghills, and many lay rotting in Prison under Sentence of Death till the Accession of Queen *Elizabeth*.

AS to Queen *Mary*'s Character, it has appear'd so manifestly from the above History, that it wou'd be needless

Q. Mary. needleſs to give a farther Deſcription of it than what is left us by Dr. *Burnet*, who ſays ſhe had been bred to ſome more than ordinary knowledge; but that a froward ſort of Virtue, and a melancholy Piety are the beſt things that can be ſaid of her, becauſe ſhe left the Conduct of Affairs wholly to her Council, and gave her ſelf up to follow all the Dictates and Humours of the Clergy.

WE ſhall conclude this Reign and Volume with that excellent Review of the State of this Reign, which was made by the Reverend *Matthew Parker* in his Preface to the Defence of Prieſts Marriage. 'Surely, ſays he, 'the brief Remembrance of 'the things that happen'd 'under this Queen is a 'lamentable Retroſpect! 'What immoderate Rains 'and Tempeſts rag'd in one 'Year! What intolerable 'Heats and Droughts in a-'nother! What Penury and 'ſcarcity of Corn and Vic-'tuals, conſequently what 'Hunger and Famine! 'What Sickneſs, what A-'gues, what ſtrange Morta-'lities reign'd and rag'd! 'What Misfortunes com-'monly fell to Women 'with Child in their Deli-'very! What Fires hap-'pen'd, far more than uſual 'in the Reigns of other 'Princes, waſting in ma-'ny places whole Villages, 'Towns and Churches! A-'gain, what cruel Burnings 'of Old and Young, Men 'and Women whether with 'Child or not! What Pro-'ſcriptions and Baniſhments 'of Learned Men! and ſuch 'as tarry'd within the 'Realm, how were they 'driven to Corners, ſpoil'd, 'impoveriſh'd, and openly 'ſham'd, by vile Penances 'and ſhameful Recantati-'ons! And furthermore, 'what uncommon Rapes 'and Villanies committed 'by Strangers and Foreign-'ners! Then at laſt what 'Diſhonour and Loſs the 'Realm ſuſtain'd by loſing 'that notable Borderer *Ca-'lais*, ſo valiantly won by 'King *Edward* III. and '(till the return of Popery) 'politickly and chargeably 'maintain'd, and defended 'in good and ſure poſſeſſion, 'to the Comfort of the 'whole Realm, and Terror 'of all our foreign Ene-'mies!

The End of the Third Volume.

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PAG. 31. lin. 18. for *Treaty* r. *Truce*. P. 76. l. 6. from the bottom, for *the* r. *ſeven*. P. 164. l. 6. for *Andres* r. *Ardres*. P. 170. l. 24. for *Months* r. *Years*.

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